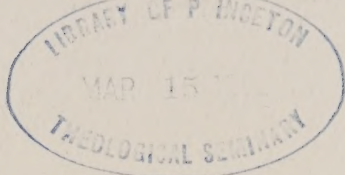


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The Christian Answer to Communism



THE CHRISTIAN ANSWER TO COMMUNISM

An NAE Study Series by
THOMAS O. KAY
Wheaton College



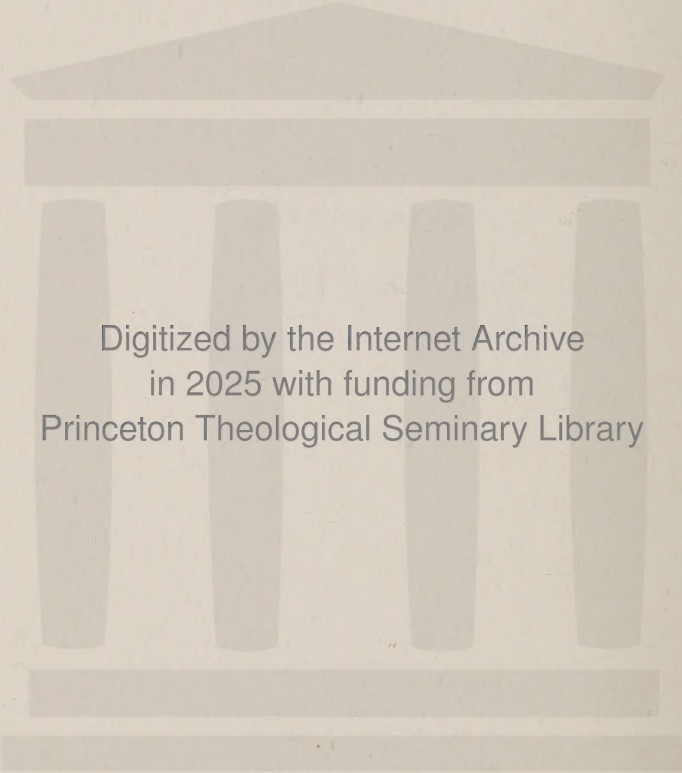
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Introduction

by W. STANLEY MOONEYHAM
Editor, *United Evangelical Action*

Over and over again I hear concerned Christians ask, "But what can we do about Communism?" The question is usually posed out of utter frustration, for in most instances the extent of their knowledge is what they have read from the prophets of gloom and doom. To the practical-minded American, Communism seems to be such an intangible enemy that there is no handle which the individual can take hold of to "do something."

Well, there *is* something we can do about Communism. It is not what so many Americans want to hear. They want quick, easy answers. Something that won't take too much time. Not too much effort either, if you please.

But Communism is a deadly enemy that won't go away tomorrow or next week. This is a life-and-death struggle and it could — it just could — go on for years with the pressure never really letting up. So in preparing for a long battle we need all of the resources of knowledge and understanding we can get. And we must condition ourselves — mind and spirit — for the protracted conflict.

If you are going to read *The Christian Answer to Communism* for quick, easy answers — don't. They aren't there. Not that the book lacks practicality. It doesn't. There are many helpful and practical suggestions for you to implement right where you are. But they are predicated on the premise that the struggle may not be over in one generation and that the answer involves the total lives of Christians and not just their week-ends. There is nothing quick or easy about this.

But the only alternative to this dedicated determination is to be content to watch the world slip under the shadow of the hammer and sickle where "mankind with dead souls" worships morning and evening at the altar of Science. We at *United Evangelical Action* magazine felt the stakes too high not to make an effort to stem the tide. That's why we asked Mr. Kay to do a series of study guides on *The Christian Answer to Communism* for our readers. We want to share them with you in this book.

The answer is here. Now it needs to be implemented.

Preface

When this study was begun I was opposed to Communism. As it now draws to a close, I am still opposed to Communism. The difference is that now I understand more fully why I am opposed to this system. My resolve has been strengthened.

Much has been left unsaid in these chapters that should have been said. However, these are meant to be outlines or guides which are to serve as a basis for further study on the part of the reader. It is my opinion that a search for truth in the political and social spheres of human activity, coupled with a proper understanding of Communism, its nature and accomplishments, will provide any anti-Communist program with its most effective weapons.

An educated and spiritually enlightened people can provide the answer to Communism. These essays attempt to suggest the means by which this might best be accomplished. There is still much to learn and at other times in other places other methods may be more efficient.

Many thanks to W. Stanley Mooneyham, editor of *United Evangelical Action*, for his able assistance in the preparation of these materials. I also wish to convey my gratitude to my colleagues in the department of History and Political Science at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois for their criticisms and encouragements over these months. Deep appreciation must also be granted to my wife and family without whose encouragement and forbearance these essays would not have been possible. I also wish to acknowledge with appreciation permission to quote from various books and publications by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.; *Newsweek*, and W. W. Norton and Co. May this effort through God's grace enable us all to believe, think and live as our God-directed consciences dictate.

THOMAS O. KAY

Wheaton, Illinois

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The Christian Answer to Communism

CHAPTER I

The Beginnings of Communism

THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM

Definition

The term "communism" simply means the common ownership of property by the community as a whole. Thus it would refer generally to any doctrine or movement within the span of history where such teachings are enunciated. There have been many such examples in theory and in practice from ancient times down to the present.

On the other hand, the term "communism" over the last century has come to refer to a particular doctrine of a group of people and its practice in a specific locality. This is commonly known as "Marxism" or "scientific socialism." Russian Communism as we know it today — in both its Leninist and Stalinist manifestations — is the practical outworking of scientific socialism. This can be achieved only as individualism is destroyed and collective thinking, acting and responsibility is substituted. The plan cannot be finally completed until all belief in God and Christ is eliminated.

According to their own writings, Marx, Lenin, and Stalin do not refer to the first-fruits of revolution as Communism. They hold that revolution, which they believe to be inevitable, only sets the stage for Communism, which will come during an intervening period through the socialistic processes. The final communization of a land may take several generations. Strictly speaking, therefore, the governments of Russia, China, and other countries with similar governments are not communistic, but socialistic. They even insist upon this distinction themselves.

The Threat

Marxism and its offspring, Russian Communism, have always maintained world domination as one of their goals. Believing as they do in the inevitability of world revolution and believing that this revolution must be aided and abetted by violence, it is against the very nature of the system for Communists to "live and let live." It is this aspect of domination which poses a grave threat to the

world, especially that part of the world that treasures its traditions and inheritance of democratic, constitutional government. The very existence of the church is sharply challenged.

It is this threat which concerns so many people today who see Communism, by its own dynamic and in large part because of the indifference of the masses, making significant headway throughout the world. In our haste to combat this menace, it is possible that we might plunge into the conflict without knowing the full nature of the enemy and the threat. An oversimplification of Communism and its program can be dangerous in the same way that only a partial knowledge of the movements of an attacking army is dangerous.

Thus it is in the interest of disseminating full information about the Communist problem and the threat it poses to the world that this book is being made available.

Consequences

Communism, as we shall see, being undemocratic, threatens not just the constitutional, representative government that we enjoy along with others in the western world. In so doing, it also threatens the whole way of life of western society. To the Communist mind, the individual becomes a tool of the economic forces of history and he is sacrificed, if need be, to the completion of the goals of the historical process, i.e., the emergence of the Communist state.

This kind of deterministic philosophy is not new to the western tradition, but others have lacked the dynamic of Marxism.

For Christianity, the conflict becomes most basically a spiritual conflict. In Christianity, Christ becomes the motivating force of all action and is the center of the culture of believers. Marxism and its proponents — though usually referred to as atheistic — have set up their own guiding force which is history itself. This becomes their god, and the motivation for all activity around this is materialistic. Thus they deny God and Christ and spiritual power in history and culture.

ROOTS OF COMMUNISM

What we today call Marxism or Communism was in the nineteenth century referred to as "scientific socialism." It was only one form of socialism and, because of its revolutionary character, it was frequently known as Communism.

Background

There were numerous socialist schemes contrived to relieve the political and economic ills of the seventeenth century, but modern

socialism did not develop directly from these earlier ideas and schemes. It developed in France in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century in a Utopian form. This came about as an effort to deal with the political, economic and social problems of the day.

There had been definite moves toward greater freedom for the common people by restriction of the powers of tyrannical monarchs, but the leaders of the socialist movements believed it should be carried further. Constitutional and representative government had grown out of the belief that man's primary problems are political. Socialism saw man's ills as primarily deriving from the lack of economic equality and believed that the removal of the economic inequities would heal the ills.

These early examples are called "Utopian" because they sought to establish a perfect society after abolishing private property. It is well to note that these Utopian socialists thought in terms of voluntary cooperation by small groups. If these succeeded, others would be convinced of their value and would form similar groups until the large national communities would also be socialized.

These schemes were based on an appeal to humanitarianism and morality. They claimed that this system would give all men their rights and liberties, that it would do away with exploitation of certain groups by others, and consequently it was reasonable, right, and just.

Socialism moved from the humanitarian concept of the eighteenth century, however, and became "scientific" in the nineteenth century. And thus enters Karl Marx.

Marx — His Life

Karl Marx was born in Trier, Germany — along the Rhine river — in 1818. Both his parents had long lines of Jewish ancestry, although these ties must not have been strong since Marx's father became a Protestant when Karl was only six. This was largely done for social and economic reasons.

Young Marx attended the University of Bonn and began his courses in the study of law. His interest turned to philosophy and history, however, and these fields occupied his attention the rest of his life. It was at the university that Marx adopted the atheistic and materialistic views that were to dominate his thought.

After being expelled from two schools, he was granted his doctorate in 1841 from the University of Jena and he began a career as a journalist. He also took a wife from the aristocracy. His radical writings soon brought him into trouble with the authorities, so

he fled to Paris where he published a radical journal with the aid of other German exiles. This attempt was short-lived, but it did enable Marx to meet Friedrich Engels who was to remain a life-long supporter and companion. Engels had had a successful business career, but held radical social and political ideas.

Marx left Paris by request and finally landed in London, after a stop in Brussels where he formed another radical group. In London, Marx and Engels founded the Communist League, which asked them to prepare a statement. This resulted in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848. Marx and the Communists were associated with a number of uprisings and rebellions that year, but they were all abortive, so Marx returned to Germany.

Forced out of his homeland after a short while, he went again to London, where he spent the rest of his life. Engels joined him there in the next decade and since Marx was not regularly employed, Engels practically supported the man and his family.

Here in London the First International was formed in 1864. It was moved to New York in 1872 and died shortly thereafter. Before his death in 1883, Marx collaborated with Engels on several works. He also prepared some independent studies. The most notable of Marx's writings — apart from the *Manifesto* — are *Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* (1867).

A harsh critic of his times, Marx did not know what it was to have a love and regard for others. This was true even in his own family. He was interested in ideas and he was convinced that his were far superior to any others. The despotism of his character becomes evident in his philosophy, which he considered to be absolutely true at all points.

Cultural Climate

In seeking to understand Marx and his thought, we must give careful consideration to the times in which he lived. Two factors must be given primary consideration — economic conditions and the intellectual climate.

In England the Industrial Revolution had taken place and the English economy was well on the way to becoming fully industrialized. Some of the results were not to the best advantage of the working man in particular and society in general. The rise of the factory system led to the concentration of population in large cities. An abundance of cheap labor made it possible for the owners to pay low wages and maintain poor working conditions. These underpaid masses congregated in slum areas where disease and filth were

rampant. Women and child labor, long hours, poor lighting and ventilation, unsanitary conditions, overcrowded dormitories were all a part of this type of life.

This was the capitalism and these were the exploited proletariat of which Marx spoke.

Intellectually, this was the age of science. The metaphysics of earlier generations was not satisfactory. Marx thus sought to observe scientifically the world about him and from this study to draw conclusions that would solve the world's problems. Hence this was termed a "scientific socialism."

The materialism of this age made serious inroads into religious thought, for it was in this period that destructive higher criticism of the Scriptures was initially developed.

Sources of Thought

Marx was directly influenced by materialistic thinking during his university days. Two influences are notable — one led to his materialism and the other to the dialectic which became materialistic in Marx. Feuerbach was responsible for the former and Hegel for the latter.

Marx was associated very early with "Young Hegelians." Hegel taught that the process of history was moving inexorably to an ultimate goal when the full revelation of the World Spirit would be achieved. He said this could be seen by the "dialectical" process. By this he meant that each period of history contained some evil within it to bring about its destruction and the creation of a new order that was better than the preceding one. These young Hegelians saw this dialectical process as being incompatible with the teachings of traditional Christianity.

Among their number was Ludwig Feuerbach whose statements about religion had a lasting effect on Marx. Feuerbach held that God was but a creation of man, and therefore man can do what he will. Marx was to push this idea farther and say that history "is . . . the activity of man pursuing his own aims."¹

Marx's Philosophy

The real foundation upon which Marx's philosophy arose was materialism. This results in atheism. In being deceived into believing that there was no God, spiritual darkness seemingly enveloped his being. Godlessness knew no bounds. A satanic standard of

¹ Otto Ruhle, *Karl Marx: His Life and Work*, p. 81.

ethics developed in direct opposition to the Word of God. Little wonder that certain unjustifiable tenets were built upon the platform of atheism.

There are four main parts to the philosophy of Karl Marx — dialectical materialism, economic determinism, revolution, and the communist society. These were the processes of history toward the development of the perfect society.

(1) Dialectical materialism. This is the basis of all Marxist philosophy — the metaphysical foundation of Marx's thought. Although Marx had little use for metaphysical speculation, he was forced to resort to it to provide meaning for his philosophy. In other words, the dialectic constituted ultimate reality for all of life.

The dialectic was derived from Hegel. This was Hegel's attempt to explain the movement of history, wherein each period of history (thesis) has within itself its opposite (antithesis) which has the power to destroy and at the same time create a new reality (synthesis) which in turn becomes a new thesis; and the process is ready to begin again. For Hegel, this movement of the dialectic was in the realm of the idea. This was not acceptable to Marx, who held that matter in motion — the dialectic itself — was reality. He described this as "dialectical materialism."

The whole course of history was seen in this scheme. The material forces were inexorably moving toward the final goal of history. There was nothing man could do to stop or alter this movement. In developing these ideas, Marx thought that he had found the key that unlocked the meaning of life and the historical process. Having adopted these conclusions, Marx set out to verify them by scientific investigation. Matter in motion as seen in the dialectical process was now to be proved by observing man in his past and present situation. On this basis Marx was also to derive an eschatology, his prediction for the future.

(2) Economic determinism. It is but a short jump from dialectical materialism to Marx's philosophy of history. The material forces give motion. In society, these are matters which usually relate to economics. Marx concludes then that these economic forces determine by virtue of the dialectic the course of all human history. To many Communists, this is Marx's greatest contribution.

Marx believed that the "modes of production" — by which he meant the entire economic climate — determine the specific situation at a given time. He sought to verify this by an analysis of history that is inadequate. He found the greatest support in the sad economic

scene around him, but failing to understand the true nature of contemporary economic developments he drew some faulty conclusions.

He taught that as the modes of production change they come into conflict with "property relations." Driven by the economic climate, the conflict resolved itself with the emergence of the dialectical synthesis as new property relations developed. Marx saw four main periods of history, each characterized by a distinct mode of production — the Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and bourgeois or modern. Even a limited knowledge of history, however, enables one to see that Marx's analysis is not adequate to account for what has happened in the past.

Marx also saw "class struggle" as a part of this historical development which was determined by economic forces and expressed in the dialectic. This is the main feature of his interpretation of history. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," Marx wrote in the *Manifesto*. He held that the current class struggle in capitalist society would be the last and was by far the greatest of all. The proletariat (working class) was the antithesis of the bourgeois (commercial or middle-class) capitalist and would eventually bring about the downfall of capitalist society and the establishment of a new society on the basis of the new modes of production.

As the class struggle increases, it becomes such that it breaks out into violence and the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist regime. The few remaining capitalists are destroyed and there arises a classless society. Communists believe that there must be a short, transitional period between the overthrow of the capitalists and the classless society. Marx called this the "dictatorship of the proletariat." This is the level where present-day Communist governments stand. They believe that when this is completed the state will wither away, a classless society will emerge and — when carried to the whole world — there will be no more class conflict.

(3) The revolution. Although Marx held that the inevitable outcome of history was the emergence of the communist society, he felt that because of the great problems in this last stage there was a role which man could play in aiding the course of history.

Marx and his followers realized the need of a party. There was some disagreement as to how this should operate, but it seems from the *Manifesto* and other writings that Marx himself favored the formation of a political party whose goals would be the establishment of Communism as quickly as possible. It would be this party that

would lead the revolution. Marx originally considered violent revolution as absolutely necessary for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Communism. However, he later suggested that the more advanced countries — England and America, for example — might pass over this stage because of the nature of their economy.

Here is an example of faulty analysis. What were the birth pangs of modern civilization were thought by Marx to be its death throes. Marx also was not aware of the appeal these revolutionary teachings were to have upon the underdeveloped and non-industrialized nations of Europe.

The program of revolution is laid down in the *Manifesto*. Marx realized to some extent — and Lenin, his successor, more so — that an active leadership was necessary to achieve these ends. The ambiguities of this part of Marxism help explain why later Marxists attempt to justify following several divergent paths in bringing about the revolution.

(4) The communist society. This is to be the result of the revolution. There is to be a transition period which is called the dictatorship of the proletariat, during which the remnants of the ideological superstructure of capitalism are to be destroyed. This is necessary to hasten the coming of Communism and to relieve the exploited classes as soon as possible.

Private ownership, the family, religion and all other institutions associated with capitalism are to be abolished. The dictatorship of the proletariat is to disappear as the capitalist minority is destroyed or takes its place with the proletariat. When this is accomplished, Communism has been achieved. There will be no need for state organization or law. In accord with the laws of history and economics, full realization of the dialectical process has come about. There is no longer a class struggle.

Marx saw this as the perfect society toward which all history has been moving and there was no doubt in his mind that this Utopia would be achieved in short order. History has proved him wrong in this as well as in other points.

Critique

As in the case of most evil movements, there are some elements of truth in the writings of Marx. While we must not allow these to blur our vision of the total impact of Marxism, some consideration must be given to them. Marx's ideology has had a strong influence on the intellectual life of the world.

(1) He pointed up certain social and economic ills of the nine-

teenth century society which were characterized by man's inhumanity to man. We know that these arise from a failure to apply Biblical principles to the problems of life and, therefore, we cannot agree with the remedy prescribed by him.

(2) He stimulated more concern for the material welfare of the citizenry. *Laissez faire* (natural course) philosophies had largely ignored this, although it had long been a part of the tradition of many European countries as exemplified by the Elizabethan Poor Laws.

(3) Marx gave an extreme economic interpretation of history. Although economic determinism is an unsound philosophical basis for historical interpretation, the economic factor cannot be ignored.

The sharp contrast between the Communist approach and the Christian approach to the problems of society is found in comparing the life of Karl Marx with that of Lord Shaftesbury, British statesman of the nineteenth century. While Marx criticized society and fomented revolutions, Shaftesbury — an evangelical Christian — worked for the betterment of conditions often at great personal sacrifice.

As a member of the British parliament he spearheaded the passage of child labor laws to prevent exploitation of the very young. Prior to this children were virtual slaves in factories and mines. Shaftesbury also led the way of reform of general labor conditions always exemplifying genuine Christian concern for the exploited.

Weaknesses

Marx was certainly mistaken in his basic concepts.

(1) Perhaps most destructive to his entire philosophy is the inadequacy of the dialectic to describe the historical process. Marx has selected a few facts to support his previously drawn conclusions regarding the movement of the dialectic. Thus his philosophy lacked a sound metaphysical foundation.

(2) His economic determinism is a case of overemphasizing the role of economic factors in the course of history and thus an oversimplified theory of causation.

(3) Furthermore, Marx ignored the fact that political democracy was as important for man's freedom as economic democracy. Hans Morganthau of the University of Chicago points out that Marx had a mistaken idea of the nature of man with respect to the problems of power and freedom. Marx localized evil in society, the class, nation or some other group, rather than in man. He also held that it was society that determined the consciousness of man rather than man of society. But what is society without the individual? Marx has given us a rationale that is non-existent in actuality.

One result of Marx's thinking was totalitarianism. While he looked for the withering away of the state, he failed to see that if there was to be a rigid economic plan for the people in a state, it would necessitate strict government control. While Marx claimed to be politically democratic and his thought at times was a result of this tradition, his claim to a monopoly of political truth and the ability to chart future events is a claim for authoritarian power.

In addition to these general criticisms, a Christian cannot accept the relativism of Marx. He did not believe in eternal verities or fixed truth or goodness. All truth was relative to time and circumstance. The Christian, on the other hand, is bound by the absolutes of God and His inspired Word, the Bible. Herein are contained eternal truths. God Himself is the True and the Good. These are valid for all time and all situations.

Marx saw the individual's salvation in the historical process rather than through the blood of Jesus Christ. He saw man's needs and desires as only material, refusing to recognize human spiritual needs. Although Communists discount all religions, Marxism itself becomes in many ways a religion seeking to fill the spiritual void found in the hearts of its adherents.

The appeal of Marxism was attractive to the working man. Marxism offered to supply all his needs and promised that there would soon be a society in which all would be good for the working man. It is this aspect of Marxist and Communist philosophy which gives it a dynamic appeal to the popular mind. In order to combat the appeal of Marxism, Christians must develop a social conscience to complement their spiritual conversion so that they show an even deeper concern for the needs of mankind than do the Communists.

Suggestions

Read some of the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in order to discern their faulty dialectical reasoning. Selections can be found in any number of volumes. Perhaps the one easiest to understand and which contains the core of Marx's program without too much of the philosophy is *The Communist Manifesto*.

Although there has been some departure from Marx as far as the program is concerned, the dialectic is still the basis for much of the present-day Communist propaganda and philosophy. You cannot know too well the deceptive nature of the Communistic dialectic.

Couple this with a reading of the Bible and note the parallelism of Communism and the program of Satan.

For Discussion

1. Why is Communism a threat today?
2. How does early socialism differ from the socialism of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?
3. What was the real foundation upon which Marxism was built?
4. Of what value is the study of Marxism?
5. What are the weaknesses of Marx's philosophy? What elements of Marxian thought are definitely non-Christian?

Terms You Should Know

- PROLETARIAT** — The lower classes. In modern socialistic use, wage-workers collectively, regarded as the creators of wealth.
- BOURGEOISIE** — The commercial or middle class, as distinguished from the working class. The owners of property.
- UTOPIAN SOCIALISM** — A theory that proposes to bring about a perfect, classless society by the voluntary abolition of private property.
- SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM** — An effort to find a scientific solution for the world's problems through a scientific understanding of history and people.
- MODES OF PRODUCTION** — According to Marx, the economic processes of any given period of history.
- DIALECTIC** — A descriptive term referring to the course of history which shows the constant struggle between one force and its opposite which results in the emergence of a third force with the subsequent destruction of the other two. The broad Marxist application of this principle would be in what they call the "class struggle."
- CLASS STRUGGLE** — The conflict between various classes of society — especially between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.
- DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM** — A concept of history wherein the forces of the dialectic are seen in material or economic forces, rather than in the realm of ideas.
- PARTY** — According to Marxist thinking, a "party" is any group of men who join together to promote common goals.

CHAPTER II

Russia — Seedbed for Communism

Introduction

In the first chapter we dealt with the development of Communist thought with particular attention to Karl Marx and his influence upon socialism in the mid-nineteenth century.

The purpose of this second chapter is threefold: (1) To show the nineteenth century scene in Russia so as to understand the success of Marxism, (2) to relate Marxism to Russia, and (3) to show the interpretation and reinterpretation of Marx by Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev and its current practice in the USSR.

With this knowledge, it is hoped that the reader will be able to better understand the conditions for the emergence of Communism and the implications of the theory for political, economic, and social practice.

The Intellectual Milieu

The Russian mind of the nineteenth century was opening itself to any number of European influences. The country was coming out of its isolationist cocoon and the Russian thinkers were pondering the question, "What is Russia to be and/or become?" Should there be a continuation of the seventeenth century efforts of Peter the Great to westernize Russia? Or was Russia to develop apart from Europe — did she have a destiny of her own to fulfill?

These questions had varying answers. Mikhail Pogodin, first professor of Russian History at Moscow University, spoke the official line. He held that because of Russia's unending source of wealth and strength, she would someday be the leader in Europe. He wrote: "Who can compare with us? Whom will we not force into submission? Is not the political fate of the world in our hands whenever we want to decide it one way or another?"¹

Russian youth did not always agree with this position, however. They felt their country's destiny should be decided in a relationship with Europe. One group, known as the "westernizers," was led by

¹ Quoted in Hans Kahn, *Basic History of Modern Russia*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1957, p. 20.

Alexander Herzen and Vissarion Belinsky. They wanted closer ties with Europe. Herzen, although a socialist, became a supporter of the evolutionary and parliamentary development of society and government largely through the influence of English liberalism.

Opposing this view was the group known as the Slavophiles — the “nationalist romanticists.” They argued that inherent in the Russian tradition and history was a spiritual basis adequate for all problems, especially holding the specific answers for the social problems of the nineteenth century. These, they felt, were far above anything the West could offer.

These ideas of the Slavophiles became a part of and influenced the growth of Pan-Slavism later in the century. This movement emphasized the inevitable nature of the conflict between the East and West in which the East, as represented by the Slavic peoples, would emerge victorious. Practically, this meant that Russia would unify and lead the Slavic states of eastern Europe to a dominant position over the continent.

The significance of these cross-currents of Russian thought is that prior to the introduction of Marxist thought in Russia, there were present those ideas which we usually associate only with twentieth century Russian Communism. These were (1) the struggle between Russia and the rest of Europe, (2) the belief in the ultimate victory of the Russian way of life which was believed to be far superior to that of the West, and (3) the direct domination of eastern Europe.

Russian Thought

Two things affected Russian thought. One was the scientific emphasis of contemporary European thought. Science in the nineteenth century was looked upon as the key to all ways of knowing. Nothing was of any value in thought or practice unless it had a scientific basis. These ideas were incorporated into Russian thought by way of influence from the German materialists, the French socialists, the English utilitarians who held that happiness was pragmatic in nature, and positivism which held that all social ills have a scientific basis and can be healed by scientific means.

This “scientism” of western Europe adopted by the Russian intelligentsia was coupled with a rejection of the traditions of Russian society and of traditional moral and aesthetic values. This we know as “nihilism.” In other words, the thinking man of Russia had as his basis of thought the presuppositions of nineteenth century scientific thought as it relates to society and political organizations, and those of nihilism which relate to all areas of life.

The basic problem of the nihilists is expressed in the question, "What to do?" This was the title of a book by Nicolai Chernyshevsky which became the guiding light of these nihilists. It was also read by Lenin and served as the source of some of his thinking. The nature of their question indicates something of the intellectual void that was present in the Russian mind. They were searching, but not finding.

Summary

In nineteenth century Russia we find a searching mind. The intelligentsia had been stimulated by contact with European scientific achievements. Lacking a solid philosophical basis of their own, the Russians sought one in the new ways of Europe. This search was intensified because of the void created by nihilism and the subsequent rejection of all traditional values.

Nineteenth century Russian thought bears a striking similarity to Marxist thought. They believed in the supremacy of Russia, they adopted an anti-western attitude, and they accepted the materialism of science and the revolutionary attitude of nihilism. The transition from this prevailing philosophy to Marxism or Communism was a relatively easy step.

As we face Communist expansion in the last half of the twentieth century, we must ask ourselves if we have the kind of intellectual climate which fosters the Communist philosophy. Are mental attitudes similar to those of nineteenth century Russia? And we must admit that in many respects they are.

Thus it becomes a primary responsibility of the anti-Communists to substitute a positive way of life for the political and spiritual uncertainty of much of the world. Materialism and nihilism must be replaced by the values of Christianity and democracy. This would be an all-embracing answer for the searching mind and would fill the void in the heart.

The Political Milieu

Russia has a revolutionary tradition which dates back to the seventeenth century. After the Romanov dynasty came to power in 1613 as the result of revolutionary activity, there were frequent challenges of every existing government under the Czars. Various expressions of socialism arose in Russia about the middle of the nineteenth century and these shortly became associated with the revolutionary tradition. Those who took up these socialist doctrines were the youthful radicals of the day. Generally, they advocated the nationalization of land and cooperative production.

The spokesmen for this group were for the most part the *émigrés*, those who had fled into exile where they could express themselves more freely. One of the most influential was Alexander Herzen who was exiled twice (1834 and 1852) for his revolutionary ideas. After several years in England, he became less radical and hoped that his homeland might avoid the trials of a revolution. He thought in terms of evolutionary socialism developing out of the rural communal life of the *mir*. (The *mir* was the primary, rural organization where a simple socialism was practiced. This was apart from any contemporary theories and resembled in some respects life on the medieval manor.) After the emancipation of the serfs, he thought his ideas would bring about a self-governing, socialist society.

Another *émigré* with different ideas was Michael Bakunin. He was a socialist and an anarchist who advocated voluntary association and cooperative production by violence if necessary. He had considerable influence on Russian political thought and activity.

Inside Russia, the ideas of the *émigrés* were fostered and organizations were formed to implement the ideas. The "to the people" movement sparked by Herzen found expression in a secret organization whose name meant "Land and Freedom." But the organization soon despaired of achieving its goals peacefully, so it turned to revolutionary means. This led to a split, with one group espousing violent revolutionary ideas — a member of this group assassinated the Czar in 1881 — while the other held to peaceful methods.

This background of political activity is helpful in understanding the peculiar situation into which Marxism was introduced.

Marxism Introduced

Marxism had three characteristics in common with the Russian intellectual and political climate: (1) Both were based on scientific materialism which thought in terms of progress and was strongly anti-religious, (2) both abhorred official ideology, and (3) both advocated that Russia must be free. Furthermore, Marxism was to fill an intellectual void that existed in Russia in the last half of the nineteenth century.

The Russia of this period had a revolutionary tradition, as we have seen, but it had no overriding ideology nor a unified program of action. Marxism, which the Russian revolutionary saw as a step toward socialism, was to provide an order, method, and authority to the already existent revolutionary tradition.

Marxist "parties" were formed in Russia and elsewhere. These

were brought together in 1898 into the Russian Social Democratic Party (SD). One Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) was among them, rapidly arising as a leader. In the 1903 congress, a dispute arose over party organization and membership. Lenin — leading the majority group — gained control of the meeting through parliamentary trickery and pushed through his ideas of limited membership and strict party discipline. He felt this was necessary since the party was to lead the revolution.

This group, headed by Lenin, was known as Bolshevik (majority) with the other faction being known as Menshivik (minority). The Menshiviks followed Marx as he was then interpreted in the west and favored a large, democratic party of workers such as was found in Germany at that time. In 1912 the Bolsheviks organized as a separate party rather than remaining as a wing of the SD's. It was this group that Lenin was to use in 1917 and later rename the Russian Communist Party.

Other political ideas and programs — some of them revolutionary like the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party (SR) led by Victor Chernov — were to parallel the rise of the Bolsheviks. Some sought a constitutional government patterned after the west, but were forced into a revolutionary position by the uncompromising reactionary policies of the government and by the need of an aggressive program that would have popular appeal. The more democratic movements failed.

What is significant here is that for the first time in Russia there were to be brought together under Marxian leadership three factors necessary for a revolution — a mass base, leadership, and an over-riding ideology.

Any movement that would successfully combat Communism must have these same three factors. It must have a program and consuming ideology together with trained leadership that can gain the support of the masses. There is no force in all the world that is better equipped in these areas than Christianity, but we can succeed only if we use our potential to the fullest extent. A half-hearted Christianity cannot win against a dedicated Communism.

Preceding the Revolution

In the years immediately preceding the revolution, Russia underwent extreme political changes. These were evidenced in the Revolution of 1905, the experiment with parliamentary government, reaction by the Czar, and the political problems of leadership and stability that arose out of World War I.

The economic scene was one of increased industrialization, for the industrial revolution did not really hit in Russia until 1890. In literature, the arts, and thought, there was more opportunity for expression than had been known previously in Czarist Russia. This allowed for the development of revolutionary thought and activity.

As the war was ending in 1917-18 Russia was faced with military exhaustion, a severe economic crisis, food shortages, and renewed revolutionary activity. The revolutionary leaders were going to capitalize on the popular discontent and the government's inability to handle these problems.

The March Revolution

The revolution was in two phases. The first was not associated with the Bolsheviks. It began on March 8, 1917, as a series of popular demonstrations and strikes protesting the shortage of food and other necessities. The demonstrations spread from St. Petersburg and when troops were sent to disperse them, the soldiers joined them in protest.

On March 12 the Duma (parliament) was dissolved and replaced by a committee instructed to arrange for a provisional government. Quick action was required, for another force was poised to take over should the provisional government prove inadequate. This force was the "Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies." The word "soviet" means council. When the first outbreak occurred, representatives of army and industry met in "soviets" to present their respective plans of action.

While they were quite radical, they were not yet controlled by the Bolsheviks. A provisional government, headed by Prince Lvov, was established and the following program was agreed to with the soviets: full civil liberty for all people, the provisional government was to act until a constituent assembly met, the soviets were to refrain from participation in government.

The exception to this last agreement was a man by the name of Kerensky who held a post in the St. Petersburg Soviet and was also a member of the provisional government. He became a key figure as he tried to hammer out for the nation a moderate government.

Lenin returned from exile in April. His formal statement — known as the "April Theses" — was radical in the extreme and indicated that he was ready to go all out to accomplish a Bolshevik revolution. He called for non-cooperation with the provisional government.

While Lenin was whipping the Bolshevik party into line, the provisional government was experiencing its difficulties. A crisis in

May brought about the addition of more socialists to the government. Although Lvov continued as the nominal head, Kerensky was easily the most important figure in the government. His policy was to renew the war effort, believing that the people would rally in support of the government.

The military offensive in Austria failed, however, and the Bolsheviks led the protests on the government's war policy. Their slogan was, "All power to the Soviets." In a showdown, the government took action against the Bolsheviks and Lenin had to flee to Finland. Kerensky then took over a government which had a majority of socialists. He agreed to deal immediately with the problems of war and to have an election for the constituent assembly, but the Bolsheviks went right on working underground. They refused to cooperate and began to strengthen their own organization through cells in the army and in industry. They even put aside the soviets as an effective means which would permit them to come to power.

An incident called the "Kornilov affair" put Kerensky's government to a test which it failed and thus precipitated the Bolshevik Revolution. Kornilov, a high ranking officer who wanted order and discipline, brought together a number of troops and began a march on St. Petersburg. While not a counter-revolutionary or monarchist, he had many of these in his following. Kerensky, seeing him as a Napoleon, sought to halt his coup. Failing to see that they both sought the same ends and sensing greater danger from the right than from the left, Kerensky turned to the Soviets and Bolsheviks for support. The Red Guard, now under Bolshevik control, was used to preserve order and to arrest any who seemed to present a counter-revolutionary threat.

The November Revolution

The Bolsheviks had shown a surprising increase in strength during the late summer of 1917. This was seen in the party organization as well as in popular support. They had a program — deceptive though it was — that appealed to the people.

When Lenin returned in October he pleaded for an early revolt. This was adopted as a plan of action at a secret meeting of the central committee of the Bolshevik party. Here was formed the *politburo* whose purpose was to guide the revolution. Its membership included Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and a number of professional revolutionaries.

Word leaked out and the government tried — unsuccessfully — to stamp out the flames of revolt by censorship and arrests. Instead

the fire spread. On November 7 the Red Guard and other forces under Bolshevik control seized key government and communication centers in St. Petersburg and by December 31 the Bolsheviks had nominal control of the country. A small, well-organized minority had captured an entire country with promises of peace, bread and land.

A government under the control of the party was quickly established, although it was made to appear that it was being set up by the representatives of the people. Initial action included revolutionary social and economic legislation breaking all ties with the past, and the making of a peace with Germany. These decisions were enforced upon all by a reign of terror.

Russian Communism

The theory and practice of Communism in Russia varies from strict Marxism. Although the language sounds much the same and the basic framework of the Marxian dialectic is retained, the leaders of the Russian state will alter the theory to fit the practice that at the moment seems to be the most expedient. Thus each of the great interpreters of Marx has a distinct philosophy of his own.

Leninism

Lenin claimed orthodoxy for his interpretation of the doctrines of Marx. Needless to say, he did not find unanimous support. Lenin agreed with Marx as to basic philosophy and also with respect to the general pattern of the Communist revolution. Lenin's philosophy was materialistic. His philosophy of history was much the same as that of Marx also. He agreed that the primary feature of history was the class struggle. His main point of departure from Marx was in applying the theory to the contemporary scene. Lenin tends to emphasize the practical portions of Marx's theory even more than Marx himself did.

Perhaps the most crucial point of difference between Lenin and Marx was with regard to the role of the party. For Lenin, the party had to be a highly organized and rigidly disciplined group that would lead the revolution. They were the ones who would stimulate the class consciousness of the proletariat and point out to them their historical destiny. Marx thought the party would develop spontaneously within the proletariat. Lenin held that it was an outside force to lead and guide the working class. Within the party there was to be no deviation. In our day, such a person is called a "hard-core" Communist.

Lenin also had his own theory of revolution. He believed as late

as 1915 that there was little hope for the Communist revolution in Russia. However, as the events of 1917 unfolded, Lenin saw the possibility of a revolution that could serve as a prologue to an international revolution of the proletariat, without which he felt the revolution in Russia would not be safe. He saw the revolution in Russia as an opportunity to precipitate a world revolution.

His view of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" which would follow the revolution also contrasted with that of Marx. For Lenin it became the instrument of destruction of all that is past. He argues for its existence on the grounds that there must for a period of time be such an organization of the proletariat, led by the party, which will overcome all resistance. He thus implied that some form of state organization would be needed as long as there is resistance.

What we find in Lenin is a man who, though motivated by the guiding principles of Marxism, is seeking political power for his own ends. Any means by which this might be achieved is justified. He is doctrinaire, but at the same time an opportunist.

Stalinism

Stalin takes up where Lenin left off. He had served in the party organization over the years and was in a position to assume full power within a few years after the death of Lenin. As Lenin, Stalin held to the main body of Marxist doctrine, and also like Lenin he felt that it was to be used as a guide rather than as a specific dictate. Thus Stalin felt free to make his own interpretations and still claim orthodoxy.

Stalin's ideas were brought to light during the struggle for power that ensued after the death of Lenin. Many had looked upon Trotsky as the natural successor. Stalin had other ideas, and with the support of his friends and cronies he was able to make a successful bid for power. He made it clear that he was to be followed in all matters and had his opposition killed in order to back up his point.

As Hollowell points out in *Main Currents of Modern Political Thought*, for Marx truth and justice was the will of the proletariat, for Lenin the will of the proletariat becomes the will of the party, and for Stalin his will is the will of the party; therefore, truth and justice are the will of Stalin. Hollowell then makes this sage observation: Wherever will becomes the source of truth and justice, there is the basis for an authoritarian political philosophy.

When Stalin announced in 1936 that socialism had been achieved in Russia, he had to defend the continued existence of the apparatus of government. This he did on the grounds of "capitalist encircle-

ment," i.e., since socialists were still the minority, they needed to be led and defended by the authority that an organized government would provide. In the meantime, Stalin had played the game of power politics to avoid diplomatic isolation. He had preached the "peaceful" nature of Communism, but when war came with the German invasion in 1941, old notions of fatherland and nationalism had to be awakened.

Some of his extreme measures of the 1930's were soft-pedaled so as to build the image of "Old Joe" in the eyes of the Allies, but when the crisis was past, Stalin reverted to form and became the grandmaster of all Russia. There had been no mellowing or change.

Khrushchev

Since the death of Stalin in 1953, there have been official changes in the interpretation of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin by the leaders of the Communist party. Most notable of these has been Nikita Khrushchev. It is now evident that there was not unanimity as to a successor and policies to be followed.

Khrushchev rose to the top much like Stalin — by gaining control of the party organization. There was general agreement on the continued development of the economy, particularly in the area of consumer goods and agriculture. Stalin had emphasized heavy industry and the military. The new thought was that some concern must be given to the native population or else there would be grounds for domestic revolt.

These reactions to the extremes of Stalin led some to develop ideas of collective leadership which resembled Lenin and his group during the years before and after the revolution.

Khrushchev has also taken a different turn regarding the extension of the revolution. It is now Russia, using the language and philosophy of Marxian Communism, that seeks to dominate the world. Khrushchev has stated in some of his speeches that one way they hope to achieve this political domination is by economic means. If we think of Communism only as a conspiratorial movement aimed at promoting revolution from within, we will be caught sleeping as the Russians make their gains in the other spheres of power politics and economic domination. The West must meet the Communists on these grounds also.

The effectiveness of these policies and their acceptance by the Communist leadership cannot entirely be ascertained. Khrushchev is faced by opposition from old-line Stalinists who think that he has let down too much. Time will tell to what extent Khrushchev's

policies will be followed. Indications of the last year suggest that he is being forced to toe the line by Stalinists or some other faction at the top level of the party. A review of the U-2 incident, the collapse of the Paris summit, as well as some of the antics at the UN sessions in October, 1960, illustrate this point.

Summary

This has been an effort to trace the development of Communism in Russia. These things should be noted: (1) The well-prepared soil in Russia as a result of native Russian thought and movements in the nineteenth century, (2) how a few men were able to come to power in 1917, and (3) the everchanging interpretation of Marx which adapts itself to the needs of the present for the sake of expediency.

Suggestions

Read, read read! Read books in the Bibliography and others mentioned in the text of the lesson. Follow Soviet affairs closely in the light of what you have studied. Study the lives of these men as well as their ideas. A more detailed study of the general history of Russia since 1917 would prove helpful in understanding the present problems both domestic and international.

Read your Bible regularly.

For Discussion

1. What ideas were already present in Russia prior to the introduction of Marxism that were similar to Marxist ideas?
2. Compare and contrast the theories and practices of Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev. How does each relate to Marxism?
3. What new threat has Khrushchev incorporated with the Marxian ideas? Why is this important?
4. Why was Marxism snatched up and accepted by the Russian intelligentsia?
5. Why did the Bolsheviks succeed?

CHAPTER III

The Spread of Communism

Background

In the preceding chapters, the development of Marxian thought has been traced. It has been shown that it provided an ideology or intellectual framework for the revolutionary tradition that had come to the fore in nineteenth century Russia. Since the Russian Revolution of 1917, the leaders of the Russian government have outwardly maintained the goals and ideals of Marx, but have found it necessary to alter strategy and tactics to meet the immediate needs.

Besides controlling the affairs of the Russian state and the Communist Party in Russia, Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev have represented themselves as spokesmen for international Communism. They have maintained that the principle of democratic centralism extends beyond the bounds of the national party. That means that full authority and power is bound up in the party leadership which in this case is the leadership of the strongest national party, that found in Russia.

The Basis

Communism as an international movement dates back to Marx himself. *The Communist Manifesto* is an appeal to the working men of all countries to unite, rise up, and overthrow the bourgeois owners of industry. Marx did not foresee national revolutions, but a world revolution which would destroy all national governments and eventually establish the perfect society where there would be no need for government.

The followers of Marx and Engels maintained in the larger part this same view of international Communism. The problems of interpretation were in degree, timing, and location of the first revolutionary effort. We can point to Lenin's attitudes for illustration. He saw Russia as but the first step in world revolution. His interest in the international aspect of Communism is also attested to by the founding of the Third International in 1919 and his statements regarding the organization of the group.

Stalin had come to power in the late 1920's using as his byword,

"Communism in one country." This was only meant to be a temporary expedient until his control in Russia was consolidated and steps had been taken to bring all of Russian society and economy under greater government control. It was during Stalin's early years of power that the tactic of the "popular front" was exploited with some success as well as much subversion on the part of the local members of Communist parties.

Following the war years, Stalin's interest in international Communism was increased as he saw his opportunity to advance Communism in several countries as well as to advance his personal and national power. During this time some states had managed to establish their own Communist governments with little or no aid from Russia. This was the case in China and in Yugoslavia.

Khrushchev maintains this interest in international Communism. He foresees Communist domination of the world and towards this end he uses the resources of the various Communist parties as well as those of Russia itself. Although as spokesman for international Communism he advocates economic conquest and domination and has played down the revolutionary aspects of Communism, when the situation presents itself, the methods of the past — violence, subversion, revolution, espionage — are still used.

Thus by statement and deed the leaders of Communism in Russia have promoted and aided international Communism toward its goal of world domination.

From Marx to the Revolution

Karl Marx and his associates formed the First International in 1864. This was a loosely-bound organization of radicals of all types. Not all were committed to a program of violent revolution. Karl Marx drew up its constitution and was instrumental in its leadership. This caused some of the more moderate elements to withdraw. Other factions left the organization from time to time as disagreements in philosophy and tactics arose.

After 1873 the First International was no longer an active organization. During its lifetime it had attempted to organize the workingmen of the world in revolutionary activity along the lines laid down by Marx.

With the failure of the Paris Commune of 1871 — a socialist experiment — evolutionary socialism replaced revolutionary socialism in many parts of Europe. These ideas sought international expression. As a result, the Second International was formed in 1889. This group was not rigidly structured and it directed its appeal to all

socialist groups *except* those who favored violence and revolution. This was representative of the revisionism current in European socialism where evolution was substituted for revolution.

The Second International with its headquarters at Brussels found a strong following throughout Europe and in some other areas of the world. The goals were the same as those of the first, but the methods varied. Agitation, education, and organization were the means now advocated. But just when the movement was strongest — 27 countries represented with 12 million members — the leaders and parties began to defect one by one and throw their lot with the national interests of their respective countries. Thus losing its international complexion, the Second International lost its reason for being and disappeared from the scene.

Although the Socialist parties in Europe prior to World War I had their radical elements, for the most part they favored the revisionist, evolutionary approach even though they used Marxian terminology. These were not Communist in the truest sense, but the later Communist parties were to stem directly from the Russian Communist Party as organized by Lenin.

The popularity and success of these Socialist parties can be accounted for by the fact that classical liberalism in both its political and economic aspects had not been able to meet the demands of a large group of the lower classes. Because their material needs were great, socialism made promises that these would be met. This was the great interest, and little concern was felt for things of the spirit.

1918-1935

The inevitable triumph of Communism through the world was a basic point of Communist theory. Lenin and his cohorts were sure that it was but a matter of time until all the world would follow the Russian example. Many sought to aid the alleged historical inevitability of world Communism at this point, but Lenin followed moderation, foreshadowing Stalin's "socialism in one country" idea.

Not only was there no world revolt, but even the small Communist efforts in Hungary and Germany had failed. It was apparent to the Russian leaders that it would be some time before revolution could be carried out in the other parts of the world. Furthermore, according to orthodox views, Russia had not been ready for revolution; therefore, special consideration had to be given to maintaining the success there.

This did not mean that the goals of international Communism were to be neglected. National party organizations were strength-

ened and a common ground was found in the Third International which took on a different character from its predecessors. Its manifesto declared it to be revolutionary, proletarian, Communist, and led by the Russian example.

This was spelled out in more detail at the second congress of the International in 1920. Here Lenin laid down 21 conditions to which all Communist parties had to agree. This brought international Communism under the leadership and control of Soviet Russia and bound these other parties to follow the same pattern. By virtue of the principle of democratic centralism, all decisions were binding upon all members. The true Communist would be uncompromising, not associating himself with reformist trade unions and socialist parties which had departed from the revolutionary traditions.

But something had to be done to cover up this open revolutionary policy since it was damaging the efforts of Russia to stabilize its position among the nations of the world. As a cover-up, the leadership developed the "united front" tactic. This called for participation in labor union activity and similar movements whose efforts for social reform were similar to those of the Communists. The success of this tactic in Germany and China can be seen in the fact that the Communist parties in these countries prospered and led the way for amicable relations in diplomatic circles for these countries with Soviet Russia.

But Stalin reversed the tactic after he had ousted Trotsky. In order to eliminate the opposition to the right (compromisers with capitalism), he called for uncompromising opposition to all reformist socialists. Thus Stalin's and Russia's control over international Communism was strengthened.

1935-1941

The Comintern, as the Third International was called, during these years again shifted its approach. It went back and adopted the same "Popular Front" and instructed the Communist parties to cooperate with liberal and socialist parties and the governments in which they were operating. It achieved the desired results to some extent. In France and Spain coalition governments were formed which included members of the national Communist parties. In terms of world revolution and the ultimate goals of Communism, however, little was accomplished. The new tactic did succeed in breaking down the barriers that had arisen against Communism during the early years and thus the Communist appeal was strengthened as revolutionary activity was played down.

World War II

After Germany's aboutface, the need of allies brought Russia into the arms of the western democracies. Russia presented itself as a friend of democracy, fighting a war to protect rights and liberties, as were the nations of the west.

The Comintern was dissolved. Although this placed many people off guard, Russia did not relinquish one bit of control over international Communism. About all this meaningless step of dissolving the Comintern meant was that Stalin was strong enough so that he no longer had to work through a formal organization.

During the course of the war against the Axis powers, international Communism was strengthened as the Communist parties took active leadership in the resistance movements of the captured countries. Frequently they provided the only effective resistance and thus gained popular support. When liberation came to some countries, the only political organization ready to come to power was found in the Communist Party.

Although Russia gave the impression of non-interest in international Communism during the war, postwar activities have indicated that the major part of Communist Party activities in many countries was under direct control of Moscow.

1945-1960

These years mark the period of greatest Communist expansion. They built upon the gains made during the war and then revived the former revolutionary goals of world Communism. However, there was no longer the prospect of a revolution of the masses, but one to be imposed by Russia as she extended her arm of power and rule. Except for Hungary during a brief period in 1919, no Communist government has come to power without the aid of Russia. In some countries, the influence has been less than in others, but it is there.

In Europe the spread of Communism attracted immediate attention. It was here that the direct influence of Russia was strongly felt. Hugh Seton-Watson, in his book *From Lenin to Khrushchev*, describes this takeover as having three phases. They are not always distinct and sometimes are merged, but they do seem to be the general pattern of development in European countries. First, there was effected a coalition government immediately following the war. The coalitions were made up of parties of the left — various Socialist and Communist parties — and also peasant parties or ones having peasant support. Because of Communist power, Al-

bania, Yugoslavia, Poland, and East Germany never went through this step.

The second phase Seton-Watson calls "bogus coalition." In this step several parties nominally shared the powers of government, but the Communist Party was actually in control by pressure and power. It was important to maintain the outward appearance of coalition with other groups, of course.

The third phase was the establishment of the monolithic state of complete Communist control where no political opposition was tolerated. This last step occurred between 1947 and 1949 in most of the eastern European countries. This having been carried out, the next step was to bring about what is sometimes called the second revolution, or "Stalinization." This was the final social and economic revolution which meant the nationalization of land and industry and the centrality of the party line in all areas of life.

Soviet Russia was involved in these activities in some way prior to the third phase. This intervention took three forms. The first was direct political action. This usually meant armed intervention. The most notable case of this was East Germany. Second, there was indirect political action where the Russian activities were disguised by national activities and native leadership. The third form was economic action. Russia stepped in and gained control of a large portion of the economy in some vital area either by direct seizure, manipulation, or through claims of reparations.

Although there were in fact coalition governments in several countries — supposedly functioning until free elections could be held — they were limited in their effectiveness by Communist control of key spots in the government and the economy. These "levers of power" included the ministry of the interior which gave them control of the police. All such offices in Eastern Europe — except Poland and Hungary — were in the hands of Communists by 1945. Other areas of power used by the Communists included control of communications and transportation, ministry of justice, youth and women's organizations, key positions in management, and ministry of agriculture.

Strong Communist parties arose in Italy and France following the war, but they failed to gain control because of stronger opposition. They still maintain a large following from the labor classes who view them as "their" parties, but their revolutionary nature is not the basis of their attraction.

Communist advance has been successfully halted or limited in Greece, Finland, and Austria as a result of outside aid or a strong anti-Soviet attitude on the part of both leaders and people.

Takeover in China

The primary example of Communist expansion in Asia is China. Here an indigenous Communist Party dates back to the twenties. Russia was unable to turn the tide at that time because of the strong military position of Chiang Kai-shek who ousted all Communists from his government. The Communist leaders and army held out in northwest China during the war, leading the resistance in that area and advocating land reform. This made them extremely popular.

After the war there was no organized resistance in the north except the Communist military machine. It was aided by Japanese military supplies seized or given by the Russians. It was an easy victory for Mao Tse-tung.

Chinese Communism followed the theoretical line laid down by Marx and Lenin. It had appeared as an agrarian nationalist reform movement. But land reform was only a means to the end of collectivization, and later industrialization was added to the overall program. Quickly the complete authoritarian regime followed. Russia would like to claim China as her own satellite, but Chinese Communism maintains its own nationalist orientation and looks upon Russia only as another friendly, great nation. Mao is its head and he — not Stalin or Khrushchev — has the right to interpret for the nation and the party the correct line. Hence there is a cleavage in the uniformity of world Communism. Yet both are Communist to the core and dedicated opponents of freedom.

Elsewhere in Asia

In other parts of Asia — as in Europe — the Communists used the resistance movements during the war to obtain their goals. They were most successful in China and Indo-China and to a lesser degree elsewhere in occupied territories. Following the war, Popular Front coalitions sprang up in a number of the states. Many Asians and westerners alike viewed Asian Communism as something different from Soviet Communism. The only difference, however, was in the tactics used.

With the founding of the Cominform in 1947 (as successor to the Comintern) an offensive was launched by Russia to make gains in Asia. This was designated to offset the success of the Chinese as well as to advance the cause of world Communism itself. Armed rebellion broke out in some places such as Korea. The Communists met with varying success. They were halted in India, Burma, and

the Philippines. In the long run, they were to gain ground in Korea, Indonesia, and Indo-China (Viet-minh).

Although the gains were slight in the postwar era, except for China itself, there was a general acceptance of the anti-western program of the Communists. When China was successful in securing a stalemate in Korea, new impetus was given to the Chinese offensive throughout Asia.

Latin America

Latin America also witnessed the resurgence of Communist activity following the war. This had been aided by the attitude of those countries who fought with Russia and viewed the bear as a "big brother." This opened the door for infiltration.

The Communists played upon the problems and needs of the people of Latin America. These people had aspirations of national self-expression. They desired economic and social revolution which would bring reform and prosperity. The Communists offered a program which appeared to meet all of these desires.

There was a restless anxiety to be rid of dictators, many of whom had their apron strings tied to the United States. With their program of promises, the Communists were able to pull the rug out from under the feet of the United States and mount an offensive in this part of the world. The whole scheme is directed from Moscow. The violence demonstrated in these countries is evidence that revolutionary elements are having their influence. We must encourage the development of democratic, free countries where faith in Jesus Christ can be fostered and the principles of the Word of God applied.

Africa

In Africa the stage for Communist intervention was set within the last decade, although international Communism's commission on colonialism had been operational since the early days of the Russian revolution. Organized Communist parties were practically non-existent. Steeped in religious superstition and ignorance, the native began to respond to Christian instruction by missionaries. He began to crave freedom and independence. Opportunistic Communism quickly stepped in to capitalize on the situation and stir up violent rebellion.

Since 1953 world Communism has at times been hindered in its development by power struggles in the Soviet government, as well as disagreements between some of the Communist nations — notably China and Russia. However, the organization of the movement and

the fact that the same guiding principle of world conquest was present has produced gains for the Communists in recent years.

Khrushchev has emphasized the issue in the realm of economics, using this thrust for his policy shifts. The local parties aid in this attack. This brings the problem more into the open. Thus world Communism is also a problem in international relations as well as one of internal security. These thrusts will be dealt with more fully in a later chapter.

Implications

This chapter points up the fact that world Communism is a threat to any nation — its independence and its way of life. The program of world Communism is that of the extension of Russian power and the establishment of a regime under Russian control modeled after that in Russia. In Russia the state is in full control of all aspects of a man's life.

The Communist outside Russia is more than a reformer or a radical — he is an agent of the Soviet government, whether he knows it or not.

A Pattern

Hugh Seton-Watson has attempted to discover a pattern for the Communist revolution. If such a pattern can be established, an effective resistance can be devised.

He discovered that successful revolution has either been indigenous in origin or the result of outside forces — or both. It is not always possible to separate these factors. Where it has failed, it has either lacked an appeal or has been overthrown by another party. The former is more frequently the case, such as Germany in 1919 and Italy and France after the war. Hungary in 1919 and Greece in 1944 are examples of the latter.

The success or failure of Communism does not reside in its inevitability or its conspiratorial activity, but in whether or not a number of conditions are favorable to a successful Communist operation. These conditions are both domestic and international.

First of all, Seton-Watson points out, there are two political factors. One is the collapse of or resistance to a government. It may collapse as a result of domestic problems which it cannot handle or as the result of some catastrophe such as war or depression. If it is initially a strong government, it should be able to survive these. The international factor involves the presence of an armed force to assist the revolutionary effort against a government. The remoteness

of an area undergoing revolution usually works in favor of the Communists.

Social factors may be divided into two classes — those in backward societies and those in advanced areas. In the backward societies we find a frustrated intelligentsia and a large, dissatisfied peasant class to which the Communist line appeals. In advanced societies the workers, rather than the peasants, form the mass base of the revolutionary movement.

These are suitable seedbeds for revolution. Such a country will likely go Communist if the intelligentsia is inclined to accept the Communist ideology. This is most apt to be the case where national interests coincide with those of Russia or China or where the anti-western tradition is strong enough to overcome genuine democratic tendencies.

From these disenchanted groups come the cadres of the party, those who will serve as the core of the new society. Although they come from a number of classes, they will in effect become their own class — professional revolutionaries. Regardless of their class or interest, they become the “proletariat” of Marxian literature whose interest the party pursues. These then become the party members and the “experts” of the new regime.

Defensive Strategy

Communism can be halted. There is no inevitability about it.

Seton-Watson suggests three things that can be done: (1) External defense to meet the military threat, involving armaments and diplomacy, (2) internal defense against espionage and underground activity, and (3) social change to deal with the economic and social problems of those countries where Communism is a threat.

This last step involves doing something about the poverty of the masses and the frustrations of the intelligentsia. This means economic aid which must be handled with care to make it most effective. It means helping correct the educational system of some countries which overproduce people in the professional classes. They need more experts in technology to improve the balance. It means that we must have a proper respect for these people.

While these things are involved, we must not forget that Communism springs from satanic inspiration and of utmost importance is the application of the spiritual faith and weapons Jesus Christ places at our disposal.

A positive attitude toward one's own country is also necessary. To

be hypercritical of the achievements of the West and the United States leads to defeatism and becomes an aid to Communist propaganda.

Meaning for Christianity

The spread of world Communism has had severe implications for Christianity. Materialistic atheism has overcome the Church in some areas. This has a significant psychological effect on both the Christian and non-Christian. From a practical viewpoint, Christian missionary activity has been drastically reduced. In some areas Christianity has been given the appearance of taking a back seat in reaching the world and meeting its needs.

What is the Christian to do? The operations of Communism are the same whether they are dealing a blow to democracy or to Christianity. First of all, the Christian must get into the fight.

Then the Christian must help meet the economic and social needs of the people to whom he is ministering, whether in the United States or on the mission field. The missionary endeavor of the Church should be equipped to do this — not at the expense of the Gospel, but in addition to it.

Perhaps the Christian, more than anyone else, should have this concern for the welfare of his brother. If these needs are met, some of the sources of unrest will be removed. In providing a non-materialistic ideology through the Gospel, it will be possible to help the new convert see the superiority of the spiritual over the material. A good example as individuals and a nation would augment this step.

The Christian need not be a professional missionary to engage in this activity in attempting to halt the march of Communism. There are opportunities for government service, foreign business activity, individual enterprises, world relief programs, and other methods to make the individual Christian influence felt. We must not overlook the deeper commitment to Christ that we need.

The vitality of the Christian message and its potential effectiveness should awaken the Christian to his social obligations. This is a recognized weak point in the evangelical church, but there have been signs in recent years of a reawakening to these needs. It may yet be that the efforts of the Church will be the most effective.

Furthermore, the Christian can meet the needs of the soul which the government and its agencies cannot. Christianity is associated with western civilization and therefore has a limited appeal in some areas, but if its universality can be properly displayed, it can be very effective. Of this, we have God's promise.

CHAPTER IV

Infiltration — the First Technique in the Spread of Communism

Introduction

In the previous chapters we have traced the rise and spread of world Communism. The fact of its presence and its goal of world domination is well established. The anti-democratic and anti-Christian character of this movement has been witnessed in its ideology and its methods. If we would seek to preserve the institutions that are at the heart and core of the western way of life, then action must be taken.

To most effectively combat such a movement, it is necessary to be familiar with the methods used. Knowing these, a more intelligent defense and counterattack can be launched. Such knowledge also helps in identifying Communists and in observing and challenging their actions. This is the only way that an effective resistance may develop.

Techniques

A study of the techniques of Communism must be broken into two main divisions. The first of these — which will be dealt with in this and the following chapter — is infiltration or subversion. This is the activity carried on by local party members, fellow travelers, and other associates of the party with designs to weaken and eventually overthrow the government of the area in which they are operating. These local Communist parties are under the command and control of the party in Russia and are, in effect, agents of a foreign power. They also work hand in hand with native and alien espionage agents of Russia.

The second technique — to which we will also give attention in later chapters — is power politics, or the use of political and economic power by the Soviet Union in domestic affairs and international relations by which they seek to enlarge their control of world affairs. Currently, this second aspect of Soviet activity appears to be equally important. Infiltration and subversion are still used, oftentimes in conjunction with political and economic power thrusts.

Thus the Communist contention that the national Communist parties are agitating revolution merely to bring an "ideal" Communist state to their own area is misleading. All national parties outside of Russia are inescapably tied to and controlled by the Communist party in Russia and so are mere tools to be used in achieving complete world domination.

Although all activity is justified in the language of the Marxian dialectic and seems foreign to us, a close observation of techniques will disclose a great similarity to Machiavelli whose methods have been followed by all strong men and nations since the time his work, *The Prince*, first appeared in the sixteenth century. The basic philosophy underlying both this work and the Communist program is that the end justifies the means. Thus anything is proper which at the moment will seem best to aid in the achievement of world domination.

This means that the methods of operation will change from time to time. Those who would successfully engage the Communists must be aware of the changing methods and "lines." To limit the defense or counterattack to one area could be fatal.

Definition

By infiltration is meant — for purposes of this book — all forms of non-direct aggression in which Communist Party members or Soviet agents (and there is really no difference) use subversive methods in any country to gain control of vital areas of the government, military, economy, and communications for the ultimate overthrow of the existing government and its replacement with a Communist, Soviet-controlled state.

Methods of Operation

There are two groups of people used in this first technique — party members and non-party members. The former category likewise has two divisions — the open party member and the concealed member. All are active in subversion and infiltration to bring about Soviet domination which J. Edgar Hoover says in his book, *Masters of Deceit*, is the hidden goal of all Communist activity in the United States. The same is true in other areas of the world.

There is a difference, however, in the hidden and open goal of Communism. The open goal which is formed into slogans and idealistic-sounding phrases usually advocates worthy reforms and suggests no undertones of subversion.

The Communist Party in the United States — as in other countries

— though small in membership, is a very effective organization. This is due largely to the party discipline which is most rigid. The commands of the superiors are absolutely and immediately binding on all below them in the party ranks. Direct control from Moscow is maintained through a representative of the Russian party. This formerly was the representative of the Comintern. Since the abolition of this organization, the Cominform or some other means has provided this direct contact.

The open party members are those who admit their membership and are generally known as such by the public. These include such men as the current leaders, William Z. Foster and Gus Hall, and in the past, Earl Browder. These men and others perform the functions of receiving and disseminating to the other members directives which come from Moscow. They also provide much of the material for the Communist press. *The Daily Worker*, *Political Affairs*, and other journals and periodicals that are Communistic. These materials openly proclaim the current party "line" and thus are avidly read by all party members and others who adhere to the party line.

The hidden or concealed members are those who do not openly show their Communist affiliations. They are as devoted to the party as the others, but they operate underground and are the greatest potential threat to national security. It is this group that has received the greatest publicity in the various exposures made by the FBI. It is also the life of the hidden member which shows the true character of the Communist. It is a hard, grueling life which is demanded when a person is asked to serve the party in this manner. This group carries on espionage and directly attempts to infiltrate key areas of the government and all important institutions of our society.

Non-Party Personnel

Next on the list comes the non-party personnel. They also are of different types, each with varying functions. They are just as much tools of the Communists and thus of the Soviet Union — willingly or unwillingly, knowingly or unknowingly — as are the regular party members.

The most prominent of these groups is that of the *fellow travelers and sympathizers*. These people openly adopt the open goals of the Communists and feel that Russia is a good example of the good within the Communist system. They are fully aware of what they are doing and of their Communist associations. However, they apparently are not aware of the full consequences of the Soviet goal

which would deny them the privileges they now prize highly as American citizens.

This group is not under party discipline and so the individuals may express themselves more freely than most party members. These are the ones who are associated with Communist-front organizations, about which we will say more later. It would appear that this group has somewhat diminished as the true nature of Russian Communism has become more clear in the years since World War II.

The *opportunist* also serves the Communist cause. He is the fellow who seeks to achieve his end at any cost. He uses uncritically all support that comes his way. The Communists are aware of this and they will give him whatever assistance he needs. If he succeeds, however, he finds that he must take orders from the party or lose their support and with it the ground he has gained. In the meantime, he has served the cause of the Communist Party.

Then there are the *dupes*. These are the people who, unknown to themselves, have become tools of the Communist Party. They are mostly people who are sincere and mean well in their efforts, but because of lack of knowledge or the absence of critical analysis have allowed themselves to be used by the party. Frequently these are clergymen, academicians, or businessmen of repute whose names are associated with worthy causes and meetings which are Communist-inspired. They also fall prey to the party line as it is propagandized by party and front organs, unaware of its true source.

Communist Fronts

The Communists have a two-pronged program of subversion — to infiltrate institutions and organizations such as labor, government, communications and to gain a strong element of popular support for the Communist line. The purpose of the first is to have tools for use now and ready in case of conflict, while the purpose of the second is to make violence and force less necessary. All types of the previously mentioned personnel are active in both of these areas. The infiltration is carried on for the most part in areas referred to as “target groups.” These will be the subject of the next chapter.

In gaining influence, the Communist tries to mold the thought of the people so they will think, say, and do that which aids the Communist cause. Thus a large segment of the population unconsciously comes to accept the Communist line and to believe it is necessary for personal and national well-being. The Communist line appeals to the desires and interests of a large mass of people.

It is usually clothed in high and noble language, frequently with religious overtones. In other words, it "sounds like a good thing."

The Communist line is expressed directly in the party publications. It is then adopted by all members and associates of the party. The most important vehicle in getting the "line" to the general public is the "front" organization.

The front organization is a group that is organized by the Communists or an existing organization in which they have gained control. The influence or control may be secret. The group may be temporary or ostensibly permanent. The front organizations exist for many causes, most of which sound good. They all have the same goal — the spread of the Communist line to make the take-over easier.

The front that is openly Communistic poses little problem to most people because its aims are quickly discerned. The front that is secretly Communistic is more dangerous since an unsuspecting person may find himself associated with it and supporting a Communist program with which he disagrees, although he might have some legitimate feeling for the open cause which is being espoused.

Front Leaders

In the front organization the leading personnel are frequently men of high repute who are engaged, be they Communist or not, because they lend distinction to the organization. The Communists retain full control, however, with a loyal party man in some key post, such as executive secretary, and enough other personnel to keep all things going in their direction.

In this way, well-known political, religious, labor, and education officials are used by the Communists to give prestige to the front organization. Often these people are not aware that by their presence at a meeting or their name on a letterhead they are lending their support to the Communist cause. This is the way some prominent people have become associated with Communists and their organization, and although they may agree at least in part with the immediate objectives of the front organization, they might feel differently if they knew what went on beneath the surface.

Even though Mr. Hoover has aptly called the Communists "masters of deceit," it is difficult for these people to believe that the Communists would openly avow such idealistic goals as they themselves seek. They are deceived, but they are not Communists. Many of them, when they become aware of the true nature of the front organization, sever their relationship.

At this point, the Christian has a grave responsibility. Although there may have been an error in the past, Christian love must be shown in a forgiving spirit as soon as full repentance and willingness to correct the wrong have been shown. We must remember that on many points there are legitimate variations in the interpretation of the Scriptures. There are portions of the Bible that support pacifism, social welfare, and the denial of capital punishment. The opposites may also be supported by Scripture. The validity of none of these is argued here, but we simply point out that many people motivated by such ideals seek to use the means put before them to achieve them. It is unfortunate that so frequently the means appears to be found in Communist-front groups. This again shows the satanic nature of this philosophy.

Peace, love, and brotherhood are ultimately in Jesus Christ. Movements and organizations cannot achieve these for the individual or the world. The Christian must, with much prayer, seek to make this known. The unbeliever is seeking the true and the good as well, but he does not know that he cannot achieve it apart from Christ. He thinks he is doing the right thing, but he is looking in the wrong place for the answer.

Because of the similarity of the ideals expressed in the open purpose of the front organizations, liberal Christianity has frequently been associated with Communism. Before the true nature of Communism was revealed in this country, many leaders did aid the Communists — some openly, some unwittingly. This does not mean, however, that all Christians of liberal theology are Communists, nor does it mean that all organizations led by these liberals are Communist-controlled or front organizations.

The FBI and Congressional investigating committees have prepared lists of Communist-front groups which are available to all. These lists are occasionally updated to include new organizations, and it is much safer to depend on these lists than to accuse without full knowledge.

Mass Agitation

The second way the party line is disseminated is through the medium of mass agitation. This has also been called "protracted conflict." By this means the party hopes to maintain a constant state of confusion so as to cloud the actual conditions and the rationale of constitutional principles. The party is then able to find receptive ears for their appeal to peace and order which does not seem to be forthcoming from the usual apparatus of government and its auxiliary

agencies. Front organizations frequently are aids in setting up and maintaining such agitation.

The agitation technique is very effective in underdeveloped areas or where the education of the people is somewhat limited. Here the emotions may be played upon to stir the people to action. Thus it is frequently used in such places as Latin America, the Congo, and Laos.

But this technique is by no means limited to such areas. In the United States, for instance, the Communists will frequently seek to use to their advantage such incidents as race disturbances, questions of academic freedom, labor disturbances, civil rights issues and such other matters where half-truths and insinuations will stir a mob to action. This frequently will then force authorities to take action that is in turn used by the Communists to support their cause.

An example of this sort of activity is the disturbance in San Francisco with regard to the House Un-American Activities Committee. In May 1960 the committee was to investigate subversive activity in that area. Youth were prompted to demonstrate against the hearings, which were claimed to be an attempt by the government to limit academic freedom. As a result of heavy demonstration, the committee's activities were curtailed.

The whole episode has been proved by the FBI to have been Communist-inspired and directed. Playing upon the sympathies of the students, the Communists were able to gain a great deal of support for their activity. Many students were not aware of just what they were doing until after it was all over.¹

Minority Groups

Thirdly, the Communists seek to insinuate their line by subtle use of minority groups and their interests. These groups are of all types — racial, national, ethnic, economic and social. The Communist tells these groups that he will represent their interests and deal with their grievances better than the present government and way of life in the United States. There is a ready reception from these groups to such an appeal, especially when it appears that no one else is really interested in them. Front organizations are sometimes used to organize the minority groups and frequently they are the people to whom appeals are made for mass agitation. They thus feel a part of the movement and also have a sense of direct action.

There is, of course, the possibility of the tyranny of the majority

¹ *Communist Target — Youth* by J. Edgar Hoover, pub. by House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1960.

in a democracy unless the rights of minority groups are given careful consideration in practice and not just in theory. Especially would this be true where the majority sets aside the basic standards of righteousness and ethics which are set forth in the Bible. However, in the case of Communism we see how a militant minority seeks to control the majority based upon wicked principles.

Infiltration

The fourth method of disseminating the party line is through infiltration. In its more restricted sense, the term means direct Communist party member involvement. This is directed against long-established institutions and organizations—labor, church, government, and idealistically motivated groups. Here the party member, usually unknown to his associates, controls activity to benefit the Communist Party and Mother Russia.

Infiltration may either be from the top down or the bottom up. That is, the Communists may be fortunate enough to immediately take over the leadership of an organization or they may fill the ranks with Communists to have them filter up to positions of importance at lower levels.

These are the four main ways by which the party line is transmitted. In all four, two further techniques are employed. One is that of “multiplied influence.” Although there are not very many Communist Party members in the United States — some say as few as 20,000, others more than three times this figure — they are able to exercise tremendous power through multiplied influence. By the subtle manipulation of sympathizers, fellow travelers, opportunists, and dupes, they command a large segment of people. The party, because it is effectively organized, is able to do much that the larger, unorganized groups cannot do.

Psychology is another means used. The Communists are aware of the desires of humanity. They shape their line to appeal to this and to cover or cloud the party objective to make it appear good. By manipulating their line to play up these human desires, the Communists can brainwash large masses of people.

The Party Line

These have been the means of transmitting the party line — but just what is it? The party line, although there have been many twists and turns, has basically been that of the “united front.” By this is meant an appeal to common goals and interests of a large segment

of people and then claiming that the Communist or Russian way is the best answer to the problems which are thus pointed up.

There seem to be two main aspects of the line. The first is peace. The propaganda machinery of the Communist Party and the Russian government would lead the world to believe that they are for peace and the United States is for war. The Communists actively promote "peace" movements as a part of this propaganda drive. It might be well to note that the peace which the Communists want is that which comes with complete Russian domination.

Subsidiary to this main theme are such things as the banning of nuclear arms, limitations of germ warfare and the like. The term "peaceful coexistence" is a part of this line. Because there is a great deal of sincere sentiment for these causes, the Communists find great support for their propaganda.

This does not mean that the Christian anti-Communist must be an anti-peace warmonger. Some people believe that man is able to work out his own problems and can achieve international peace. The Christian knows that peace cannot be fully achieved until Christ comes, but in the meantime he knows it is his duty to do what he can working from a Christian point of view to achieve partial peace.

The second aspect of the "united front" Communist line is reform. Although the Communist feels that reform is just the means by which the capitalists are temporarily delaying the final revolution, he frequently is found advocating reform programs. The association with such programs is a temporary expedient. In aligning himself with reform movements, the Communist is able to attack existing institutions and thus stress the inefficacy of the existing government. The result is that many discontents will fall in line with these Communist-led and-inspired movements.

These are the main elements of the Communist line. Day by day interpretations may bear little resemblance to this overall picture. If an individual or an organization is following the Communist line, they will do it with absolutely no variation. Thus they may find themselves switching sides or denying that which they have said before. These people receive their orders directly from Moscow by way of the Communist press, particularly *The Daily Worker* and *Political Affairs*. A close scrutiny of these or other Communist publications would immediately acquaint one with the current party line.

If you have trouble distinguishing between sincere but misguided people and true Communists, remember that a Communist will follow each turn of the party line at all times regardless of the logic involved or its relation with any earlier activity.

Extent of Infiltration

There are Communist Parties in most countries of the world. They all have the same end — Communist domination by any means possible. It is not possible to accurately measure the extent of Communist control except where the state is under a Communist government. One may be aware of what is happening at the top, but the vast underground activity defies measuring. The real need is not to measure, however, but to simply recognize its existence and do something about it.

The Communist Party has been active in the United States since 1919. It has undergone reorganization several times. There are several splinter groups which are largely insignificant. The party membership has varied greatly — from 7,500 in 1930 (its low point) to 80,000 in 1944 (its high point). Since then there has been a decline, although it has continued to be active, particularly through 1953.²

Having had their fingers burned and in accord with the line of peaceful coexistence, Communists in the last five to eight years seem to have concentrated their activity less in the subversive sphere than in the period of 1945-53 and earlier. It is still there, to be sure, and may be seen when parts of it are brought to the surface through the work of the FBI and the several Congressional committees that work in this field.

Another factor partially responsible for this apparent decline is the fact that Russia need not rely solely on the local parties for espionage activity. Opportunities for her own people to be present in the United States through her embassy in Washington and the delegation to the United Nations also provide chances for espionage.

Even though there still are infiltration, subversion, and espionage, we must not overlook the fact that the cold war is being fought in the economic, propaganda, scientific and international arenas as well.

What to Do

There are three main ways in which each person can help in the fight against Communism, particularly as it is seen in this form of infiltration and subversion.

(1) Work with our government and its agencies. They are trying to do an effective job. There are problems which are not yet answered and we are all aware of imperfections. However, with support and confidence from the people, the government can do an

² J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1958.

effective job of combating Communism. The police agencies of the government — particularly the FBI — have a commendable record. They deserve our confidence and support.

Limited, constitutional government is designed to protect rights and liberties of all insofar as they are not infringing on the rights of others. This is government by law. There is to be equal protection for all under the law. By our maintaining these features and allowing them to operate, Communism will not find fertile ground for its growth.

(2) Be informed as to the techniques employed and the line that is propagandized so you will not be duped and can intelligently warn others. In this respect, individuals must be careful not to resort to name-calling. This is largely ineffective and frequently embarrassing to the one who thinks he is doing the country a service. The singling out and exposure of Communists should be left to the properly constituted governmental agencies.

(3) Offer positive alternatives to Communism to those classes and individuals to whom Communism makes an appeal. The Christian has a distinct opportunity at this point. By filling the spiritual needs of the people, the opening for the Communist is narrowed.

It is interesting to note that many who have left the party have something to say about the absence of spiritual concerns in the Communists. They offer nothing for the soul and, while these spiritual needs may not be immediately apparent, they inevitably arise. Only the Christian has the answer for them.

But the Christian must also be concerned for the social needs of man. This is not the "social gospel" of the last century, but Christianity with a concern for all mankind. If these needs are met along with the spiritual, then the Communist will have a difficult time finding fertile ground for his seed. A practical, applied, lived Christianity is the most powerful force in the world with which to combat Communism.

For Discussion

1. Why is the Communist Party, though small in membership, an effective organization?
2. Who are the non-party personnel and what is their function?
3. What are the four methods of disseminating the party line?

CHAPTER V

Target Areas of Communist Infiltration

Target Areas

The Communists have selected certain major areas of the social and economic structure upon which to concentrate their activity and to which to make an appeal. These areas are selected for one of two reasons — either they are important in the strategy of gaining control of a country, or they are areas where the minds and attitudes of the people can be controlled or the will to resist the Communist line weakened.

In any country where the Communists are operating, these areas will be “bee hives” of activity. Most of the information and illustrations used in this chapter relate to operations in the United States. It is safe to say, however, that the methods used and the areas of activity are much the same elsewhere. There may be a slightly different emphasis depending on the local situation, but the basic strategy remains the same. For example, labor may receive particular emphasis in one country while the military is singled out in another country, or a racial minority in a third.

More specifically, the target areas most commonly found to be exploited by the Communists are these: labor, minority groups, youth, the military, education, and religion. The order in which these are listed does not necessarily imply the order of their importance — they are all of first-rate importance. Other areas of lesser importance would include women’s clubs, veterans’ groups, farm organizations and any other social or economic group whose grievances—either fancied or real — could be exploited in the interests of the Communists.

The Communists attempt to get into these groups where they offer their answer to the problems of the group. This answer may be the open acceptance of Communism or it may be something much more subtle, clothed in innocuous terminology that has an attractive sound and appeal. The Communists thus hope to gain support from several such groups which are united — or at least working cooperatively — because of their mutual interests. With this large body of support, they can make inroads in government and key political and

economic areas and are in position to take over when the stage is set for Communist control.

Any area of the economic or social structure of a nation or any special group of people is a potential target area. The areas which have been mentioned are the ones which are deemed most crucial for Communist purposes. The Communists will not overlook any avenue that would afford them an opportunity to promote their ends, however.

It is the purpose of this chapter to further investigate the techniques of Communist infiltration so that we may be better equipped to aid in the fight. By being acquainted with certain facts, you will be able to spot Communist activity and thus avoid association with Communist groups or other groups which are influenced by Communists. It is important to have considerable knowledge of this subject so that the innocent will not be slandered and the guilty will be recognized for what they are. All Communists are actually agents of a foreign power and those who give support to them, though not Communists themselves, do a great disservice to their country.

Target Area — Labor

Historically, the Communist Party has been interested in labor and the laboring classes. The original appeal of Marx and Engels was to the "proletariat," by which they meant the urban wage earners. In practice, appeals were made to this class in Russia in 1917 and in other areas of the world since.

However, the whole revolutionary movement has not relied entirely upon the acceptance of Communism by the laboring classes. In most cases the intelligentsia — those with scholarly and academic interests — and the peasants of the rural areas have joined with the proletariat in expressing their dissatisfaction with conditions under which they live. The thought and action of Marxian Communism has been the basis of this expression.

The Communist appeal to labor is based on the idea that the laborers are the exploited class and that under Communism this exploitation would cease. This is based on the social and economic philosophy of Marx (cf. Chapter I). In spite of the fact that the present day approach of practical Communism is broader than this, the language which is directed toward labor is largely retained.

Besides the historical and philosophical nature of the Communist appeal, the party is very interested in labor for practical purposes. If the Communists are able to infiltrate labor and its organizations, they will be provided with an effective means of applying coercive

force to gain immediate or long range objectives. This is possible since the Communists will be able to influence or control many areas of the economy and national life, such as the field of communications. They will be able to call strikes or other types of action which will disrupt the whole pattern of daily living. In this way they could paralyze the United States and prevent us from taking military or economic action to resist an aggressor either in our own country or abroad.

Control of labor unions is one of the prime objectives of the Communist Party. Make no mistake about it! This control may be gained in a number of ways. The union may be infiltrated from the bottom by winning members to the Communist cause. On the other hand, a few Communists may join the union and through plot and intrigue gain control of a few of the key offices in the union. Since people have become alerted to the danger of Communist infiltration, these members usually keep their Communist affiliation secret. This was not necessarily true in former years when people accepted the open and direct appeal of Communism.

The Communists will use any means at their disposal to make inroads and gain control. This includes rigged elections, propaganda, force, and violence.

David Dubinsky, a labor leader, makes the following comment regarding Communist infiltration of the labor movement:

The Communist technique is simple. The party agent forms acquaintance of a member of a union which is marked for capture. They form a "cell" or "fraction" of a few likeminded members. With the help of the party agent a program is prepared. Naturally, it follows the Communist Party line.

. . . The Communists refer to themselves as the "vanguard of labor." Nothing could be further from the truth. They have disrupted many unions with their factional quarrels and have left in their wake many saddened and disillusioned members, destroyed businesses, and blasted hopes. Far from being "progressives" as they claim, they are really "dynamic reactionaries" as someone has called them.¹

But all that we have said here is not to be taken as a blanket condemnation of labor. In all honesty we must recognize, as was pointed out in a previous chapter, that the laboring conditions of the mid-nineteenth century which Marx attacked were intolerable

¹ *100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

for the working man. Times have changed, however, and much of the credit for this change must go to the development of the labor union.

As our earlier statements were not meant to be a blanket condemnation of labor, neither are these statements intended to be a "whitewash" of the labor movement. Its excesses must be recognized and guarded against.

The Communists still find some takers for their talk about "exploited labor." In a democratic society such as ours, there must always be a concern for the lower class working man who might be discriminated against. By meeting the needs of labor — which do not always coincide with their demands — we can build an effective front against Communist infiltration. This must be done. There is a great danger if Communism successfully infiltrates labor and there is also a danger if we drive labor into the hands of the Communists by offering no positive program.

Christianity is able to meet the spiritual needs of these people. This is basic to the well-being of the total man, but we must also show concern and be able to meet their material needs. "But if anyone has this world's goods — resources for sustaining life — and sees his brother and fellow believer in need, yet closes his heart of compassion against him, how can the love of God live and remain in him?" (I John 3:17 Amplified New Testament).

Target Area — Minorities

Minority groups have been used by the Communists almost as effectively as labor. These groups include any group of people whose interests are not necessarily those of the majority of the citizens of a given country. Because they are in a minority, it is possible for the majority element of the country to exploit them, sometimes even unknowingly. The Communists will play up this chance exploitation for their own benefit. If true exploitation does not exist or is so small and insignificant that it does not count for much, the Communists will develop an area of exploitation and play this up through subtle propaganda. It is usually not difficult to develop an issue which can be used to play on the emotions since these minority groups are frequently conscious of their distinctives.

Most important of these groups in the United States is the Negro. Foreign language groups and the Jews have also been the target of Communist propaganda on the basis of their minority status.

Although we are all aware of the Negro problem in the United States and must admit to inequities in many places with reference

to the Negro, the Communists have found it difficult to make headway among the Negroes of this country. The early Communist line — in the 1920's and 30's — was a campaign to relieve the oppression of and promote equal rights for these people. This was to be climaxed by "self-determination." This meant that the Negroes of the South were to withdraw from the United States and set up an independent state in the South. This is what Stalin meant when he defined self-determination as ". . . the right of the oppressed people of the dependent countries and colonies to complete secession, as the right of nations to independent existence as states."²

The Comintern resolution of 1930 points this out in detail:

In the first place, our demand is that the land of the Southern white landlords . . . be confiscated and turned over to the Negroes . . .

Secondly, we propose to break up the present artificial state boundaries . . . and to establish the state unity of the territory known as the "Black Belt," where the Negroes constitute the overwhelming majority of the population.

Thirdly, in this territory, we demand that the Negroes be given the complete right of self determination; the right to set up their own government in this territory and the right to separate, if they wish, from the United States.³

During World War II this program was played down as the party line then called for a "unified war effort." However, since the war these same aims have been revived. It is interesting to note that this policy is not in the interest of the needs of the Negroes, but of the Soviet government. Since 1956, the policy of self-determination has again been soft-pedaled, although the Negro is still viewed as an oppressed minority group.

Many bogus methods have been used in attempting to bring Negroes into the Communist Party. They have been markedly unsuccessful. The Negro realizes that the Communist does not mean what he says. History has shown him that minorities remain under oppression where the Communists are in power. The Negro realizes that democracy truly offers him his best hope. May this continue to be so.

If the supporters of democracy will continue to consider the Negro and his constitutional rights, the Negro will continue to be a supporter of the democratic way of life. It may be noted that several Negroes were outstanding in their opposition to Communist

² Quoted by J. Edgar Hoover in *Masters of Deceit*, p. 244.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

indoctrination in the prison camps of North Korea, while some of the white soldiers found it difficult to resist the brainwashing.

Other minority groups have received treatment from the Communists similar to that accorded the Negroes. A significant area of activity has been among groups of foreign born or those of recent foreign extraction, particularly from Eastern Europe. This was particularly aimed at agitation to alter foreign policy. Those of recent extraction have found out the truth about Communism from friends and relatives who live under it and this activity has somewhat diminished due to Soviet rule over much of Eastern Europe.

Communist success in this area comes only when the immigrant is disillusioned with the American way of life. Although we are not perfect and this nation is certainly not an earthly paradise, we can do much through education and practical aid to help immigrants get adjusted to their new land. With only a little help they will soon discover that liberty and democracy provide a superior way of life to the Communist state.

The Jews have also been the target of Communist infiltration. The line has been that the Soviet citizen is a friend of the Jew, but it takes only a little study and knowledge to prove the untruth of this. The Jew realizes for the most part the incompatibility of Communism and Judaism. The real aim of the Communist is to stifle the opposition that arises out of a well-knit religious group such as the Jews.

Target Area — Youth

The Communists realize that the future of a country is in the hands of its youth. Thus they are especially active to win them to their cause. This is evidenced in the control that they have developed over the youth of Russia. Although many of the older people have accepted the regime only with mental reservations and have been allowed to keep some of the pre-revolutionary institutions, they are deemed unimportant as long as they give allegiance to the government. In Russia youth organizations control effectively the activity of all youth from earliest ages until past twenty.

Since youth is susceptible to Communist propaganda, Communists tailor their program to appeal to youth. Because of the disrepute into which the openly advocated Communistic program has come in the United States, the appeal is indirect. Since youth is frequently uncritical, however, it can more frequently be taken in unknowingly to serve the Communist purpose.

The Communist youth program is implemented through organizations entirely or partly under Communist control. Organizations

with outwardly good purposes and intentions are used for this purpose, if at the moment their purposes coincide with the Communist line. The youth organization under Communist control exists for two purposes: (1) To indoctrinate the members with the party line even though they are not all party members and (2) to agitate and demonstrate whenever the occasion demands in the interest of the party line.

An illustration of this in action is presented in the pamphlet by J. Edgar Hoover, "Communist Target — Youth," in which he reports on the Communist activity behind the demonstrations in San Francisco in May 1960. These student demonstrations were set off by a hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco. Word also came from Mr. Hoover late in December 1960 that the Communists were preparing a new attack on youth and that a strategy meeting was being held in Chicago during the Christmas holidays. Such a meeting was held, although the leaders denied that it was Communist-inspired. The sessions were closed to the press and outsiders, however.

It is one of the characteristics of young people that they are captivated by new and different ideas, but if an established democracy is aware of their needs and cultivates their loyalty, they will become its most ardent supporters as their enthusiasm is properly channeled. Youth is searching; the young person must find something worthwhile that has an answer for his questions. Christianity is able to provide this if we will use our opportunities to reach young people.

Target Area — Education

Here is another area of society which has prime importance for the Communist. The mind must be captured if the nation is to be enslaved — and where is there more logical place to begin than in the educational system? This is especially true in a country where there is a high literacy rate, such as the United States.

There are two exceptionally important values that accrue to the Communists when the educational system is infiltrated: (1) By using well-known leaders in the academic and educational field as a part of the Communist front apparatus, they give prestige and authority to the program, and (2) the entire educational system becomes the channel for indoctrinating a whole generation with the party line.

There are various methods used by the Communists to achieve their goals in the general area of education. The most obvious and effective means is to recruit faculty for the party and allow them to continue teaching. This has been done more openly in the past than

at present. Because of the undercover nature of this movement, it is difficult to discern the party member who is a teacher. They are undoubtedly there, however, and not only at the college and university level. The Communists realize the importance of early educational training.

A second way the Communists can wield their influence in the educational field is by gaining control of the governing agencies — the policy-making bodies that determine the direction of educational programs and institutions. An equally important area is at the administrative level — principals, superintendents, supervisors, deans.

Thirdly, textbooks are important tools to use in capturing the student for the Communist cause. This is done subtly, although in some instances there have been direct attacks upon the institutions of American society. Some texts are easily seen to be Communist-oriented; others present the line more subtly.

This is a touchy subject in a country where freedom of expression is highly prized. We must be careful that our zeal does not lead to "book-burning," but it behooves those in the educational field to be alert to this problem.

A fourth way in which education can be infiltrated is by the use of lecturers who appear before educational groups, forums, PTA's, or other academic groups. The Communists have party members — or fellow travelers or sympathizers — trained in various fields to fill these opportunities to lecture. Thus the party line can be diffused under the guise of intellectuality.

Fifthly, the Communists seek to infiltrate all cultural media. This is actually informal education. The Communist is aware of the effectiveness of the movie, the arts, television and radio. Drama and literature are well suited to the portrayal of the Communist line. Much has been done in the past ten years to weed out the Communist influence in these areas, but it must be a continuing job.

In some places Communist schools have been set up. They are not labeled as such, but their program and orientation are definitely Communistic. These are to train party members and also, by misleading advertising, to bring in those who are looking for something different in education. These schools have been noted by the Federal government from time to time — the most important of these being the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York.

With respect to the problem of Communist influence in education, the anti-Communist must not go so far as to advocate censorship or deny freedom of speech and assembly. Such proposals are fraught with peril for a democracy. Our job is to give education a content

that is superior to the Communist line. Values can be taught — the Communists believe this. Our educational system must get hold of a set of values that will pervade our teaching. At this point, Christian education has something that is infinitely superior. Although religion cannot be taught in the public school, spiritual values can be given a place in every classroom and in every subject.

Target Area — Religion

Although the Communist is an atheist and antagonistic to organized religion, he still finds it to his advantage to make use of religion. Some party members retain their position within a church organization. The party also works through sympathizers and dupes who hold positions of importance in church bodies.

Bishop Quentin K. Y. Huang, who served the church in Free China for many years, has said that he sees the same pattern developing in some of the churches in America that led the church in China to go under Communist control. This pattern began with Communist Party members infiltrating the theological seminaries on the pretext of preparing for the holy orders. This carefully planned strategy was coordinated with planting “stooges” and sympathizers in the churches, hospitals, and other related areas. Thus when the capture was effected, it was complete.

Communism knows that religion — and specifically Christianity — offers the greatest opposition to the final achievement of its goals, but it also knows that an open and direct attack on Christianity would be largely ineffective. So the Communists have adopted the technique of deceit, as they have with other target groups. They appear as the proponents of current issues that have religious overtones. Because of the church's obvious interest in such things as race relations, peace, and justice, the Communist seeks to turn these to his own ends. Thus he is able to clothe his operations in the protection that is given by his religious associations.

Because it is the tendency of many church functionaries and leaders to associate themselves with organizations that espouse a good cause, many have unwittingly joined front groups. This is just what the Communist “doctor” ordered! It provides a cloak of dignity for the Communist-led group and aids in getting other unsuspecting people to take part. The foregoing is more true of those whose theology is liberal than it is of the evangelical. This is largely a result of the liberal's desire to emphasize the social concern of Christianity and put into practice the doctrine of Christian brotherhood. This kind of situation is tailor-made for Communism.

But this does not mean that all liberal theologians and church leaders — or their organizations — are Communistic. If a person's spiritual experience is vital, the emptiness of the Communist cause and a "do good" philosophy is easily seen. On the other hand, the evangelical Christian must give heed to the social implications of the Gospel for "faith without works is dead" (James 2:17).

Communism in religion is an insidious threat. It must be carefully observed and weeded out. But to resort to mere name-calling and "guilt by association" is dangerous and accomplishes little.

Other Target Areas

The areas just discussed stand out as being those most important to the Communist. Any other special group that can be used, however, is a potential target area. One such area is the military. The Communist purpose here is to develop through propaganda an irresponsible attitude toward one's country and his citizenship obligations, to weaken the will to resist an enemy, and to neutralize as much as possible the striking force.

Farm groups comprise another target area. An appeal is made to the "poor" farmer. It is interesting to note that wherever the Communists have been successful, they have had to form a coalition with the rural classes and develop a program for them.

Veterans groups are a potential target area, although the large ones in this country are staunchly anti-Communist. Women's clubs are also a favorite target of Communist activity.

It should be pointed out that there are effective anti-Communist organizations that relate to most of these areas. Such organizations should receive support from all.

What to Do

Knowing the facts in this chapter will not help unless we resolve to do something about them. Here are some suggestions:

(1) Education. To inform ourselves and others so the Communist movement can be recognized and brought out into the open is of vital importance. By keeping abreast of government findings and reading intelligently, you can know who many of the Communists are. Also, this book will acquaint you with the techniques of infiltration and subversion.

A close study of world events and Soviet propaganda will help you recognize the Communist line. A study of Communist activity will show the conflict in theory and practice. This is important since

the appeal made to front organizations and these target groups is not at all in keeping with stated Communist policy.

(2) Application. The next step is to apply the knowledge gained. The Communist ideology and undergirding theory must be attacked. Indiscriminate attacks on individuals are not in keeping with democracy or Christianity, however. Usually, if given enough rope the Communist will hang himself on the Communist line to which he is absolutely committed. If there is immediate danger, you should of course get in touch with the FBI or responsible local officials.

Communists strive to create an anti-anti-Communist attitude. For years their tactic has been to hurl names at anti-Communists such as "fascist," "McCarthyism," "reactionary," etc. to besmirch and stigmatize. Therefore, exposure of Communism must be done wisely and with well-documented facts. Some well-meaning people react against misguided anti-Communists and fall prey to the Communist line by assuming an anti-anti-Communist posture. In this all-out struggle for faith and freedom, the best Christian ethics and most powerful Christian weapons must be utilized if our efforts are to be blessed of God.

(3) Edification. A positive content should be offered in all anti-Communist activity. We must point out the good in the democratic way of life. It must be lived and maintained. Loyalty and patriotism are not *passé*. If our nation can have the support of its citizens, there will be fewer national wrongs to make right.

Frequently the Communist appeal is successful because it fills a void in a man's life. This is most often the result of a spiritual problem. Christianity can meet spiritual needs, but it must be presented in an attractive way without dilution of the Gospel. Where Christianity and democracy have sometimes not concerned themselves with the whole person, Communism has used these gaps in crucial places to promote its own cause.

CHAPTER VI

Techniques, Part 2 — Power Politics in Russia

Introduction

The problem of Communism is more than ideology and subversion. The system is also maintained and spread through the use of power and the instruments of power — economics, politics, and tyranny. This is the proposed area of study for the next two chapters.

The preceding chapters have been concerned with the techniques used in the spread of Communism. As has been indicated previously, there are two major areas: (1) infiltration or subversion and (2) power politics or force.

This latter technique remains a most effective instrument of Communist control. It is largely through power and force that the Communist state is maintained and expanded. This evidence seems to indicate that there is little difference between the Communist leaders and Machiavelli's prince — might makes right and the end justifies the means.

Communist power politics operates in two main spheres: domestic and international. A separate chapter will be devoted to each area and it is hoped that these will serve as a guide to a more complete study on the part of the reader.

Our study of power politics in the domestic area will be a study of the Russian political system under Communism. In many ways this is duplicated in other Communist lands, so the student might like to compare this case study with China or some Communist satellite of his own choosing. The second part — Chapter VII — will deal with the foreign policy of Russia and the Communist states and how it implements the goal of world domination.

Political Control

Historically, political control has been important to the Communists. The technique used today in other countries is the same as that used in Russia in 1917 when the Bolsheviks — later known as the Communist Party — came to power. Control of the political

system is of primary importance and can be relaxed only as a matter of expediency or when all effective opposition has been crushed.

There are two collateral systems through which political control is maintained in Russia — the government and the Communist Party, with the party taking the primary role. The Bolsheviks supplied the formal government organization following the October Revolution of 1917. A meaningless constitution was prepared in 1918, and in 1922 a federation of the independent Communist-controlled states was carried out, forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). It might be pointed out that this union was by no means all voluntary since a number of the states were either betrayed or terrorized into it.

The constitution drafted by the Communists was largely descriptive of the processes of government that had been developed. Although these processes were clothed with the appearance of democratic forms, there was little that resembled democratic practice. The party was at all times in control. The party still directs and controls everything — the government and its machinery, the doctrine (both in formulation and interpretation), and finally the individual party members themselves. The battle cry of 1917, "All power to the Soviets," (see Chapter II) under which the Communists conquered Russia, resulted in the party's total conquest of power.

Stalin drafted a bit of fiction in 1936 which he called a "constitution." In principle, it was more democratic than the earlier constitutions, but in practice there was little difference. For example, it apparently allowed for equal, secret, and direct suffrage, but it was considered improper for a citizen to vote a secret ballot since it gave the appearance of guilt about the propriety of his vote. And since the only names on the ballot were those of Communist Party candidates, the only alternative to voting for one of these was to cross out the name. This is still the picture of Russian voting today.

The Supreme Soviet

Voters do elect representatives to the Supreme Soviet — supposedly the highest body, but in reality a powerless group. It ostensibly combines the legislative and executive functions of government, and it has some responsibility for judicial matters. To do the work of the Supreme Soviet and prepare legislation, there is a Central Executive Committee, but since this body is too large for effective handling of the daily affairs of government, its duties have been largely assumed by two other groups which are "elected" by the Supreme Soviet — the Presidium and the Council of Ministers. The

chairman of the Presidium is theoretically head of the state, an honorary position which has little meaning except in diplomatic protocol. The real power of government lies in the office of premier which is held by Nikita Khrushchev, "elected" by the Supreme Soviet in 1958.

The Communist Party

Alongside this governmental structure — and, in practice, above it — is the Communist Party. Its place is vital since, according to Lenin, the party was to guide the revolution and bring about the establishment of a new society. From this key position, Lenin and his associates seized political power in the name of the party until the state had "withered away." Needless to say, the state did not actually wither away but instead was replaced by party control. This power of the top echelon was strengthened by the doctrine of "democratic centralism" which means that party directives once determined were absolutely and completely binding upon all agencies and members of the party.

So the Soviet regime is a system in which a well-organized minority controls all power. (In May 1960 the Communist Party membership in Russia was listed at something less than nine million out of a total population of over 208 million.) No deviation is allowed. Persons and groups felt by the leaders to be actively or potentially hostile to their exclusive controls are liquidated. Russian history since 1918 is filled with bloody records of such purges. Often these massacres have taken place under the guise of eliminating "counter-revolutionaries." The subsequent result has been the eliminating of any effective opposition.

While the party is the means by which men rise to power in the government and maintain it, under Stalin the role of the individual superseded that of the party. When Stalin succeeded Lenin, the various shades of opinion which had been tolerated within the party were banned. It is estimated that in the great purges of the 1930's when Stalin was making his position secure, some eight million Russians were liquidated!¹ These included all of the Lenin supporters except Stalin, many intellectuals, some military leaders, and many who could not by the wildest stretch of the imagination be called "enemies of the people."

Because of Stalin's great power, the party diminished in importance. After his death in 1953, however, it saw new life as it once again became the focus of power in the struggle for leadership.

¹ *Twentieth Century Russia* by D. W. Treadgold, Rand McNally, p. 250.

Party Organization

The Communist Party in Russia is an interesting organization. Its pattern bears a striking resemblance to that of the Russian state. Theoretically, it receives its authority from below. But Communist leaders tell their ranks, "Our party is not like other parties." By this they mean not only that it has special goals, or a unique place in history, but that it is organized in a different way, makes special demands on its members, and actually is a "combat" party.

Lenin wanted an organization that could be mobilized for effective action and relied on to see the revolution through to the end. The *Party Organizer* has summarized his organizational principles as follows:

1. The doctrine that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class.
2. The doctrine of the formation of the principal cadres of the Party, so-called professional revolutionaries.
3. Activity of all the members of the Party, their direct participation in the work of the organization.
4. The basis of the Party organization, its fortresses, are the factory nuclei.
5. The Communist Party, through Communist factions in non-Party workers' and peasants' organizations must link up closely with the masses of workers and peasants and take an active part in all their struggles against their exploiters and lead the struggles through the Communist nuclei and Communist factions.
6. Democratic centralism in the Party and in the Communist International.
7. Iron discipline for the proletarian Party.²

The keynotes of Communist party organization are *mobilization* and *manipulation*. These characteristics are of maximum importance since they define the combat character of the party. No democratic participation is allowed in party affairs since this might lead to divisiveness. Power centers which challenge the official leadership are prohibited.

For the day-to-day operation of the party, there is the Secretariat. The secretary of the party, through control of party organization and appointments, is the most powerful figure in the party. This was the position which brought Stalin to power and which he used to maintain his position. Khrushchev used this post in his successful bid for power during the struggle for control after the death of Stalin. (If ruthlessness were one of the qualities for Communist Party leadership,

² *Party Organizer*, January, 1934.

Khrushchev has proved himself worthy. While first secretary of the Central Committee of Ukraine's Communist Party he planned and executed the genocide of between six and seven million Ukrainians.³)

The party — and that means the victorious party leadership able to impose its policies — is always right. Lesser party lights and agents can always be sacrificed, accused and liquidated as traitors, when this action serves the purposes of power. The party leadership determines what the facts are, what composes true tradition, history, science, and freedom. Obedience to the leaders and blind acceptance of the general line are esteemed infinitely more than initiative and independent personal judgment. All social and political questions are regarded only as power problems to be solved by the regime as soon as the necessary cadres are available.

In order to understand the use of power politics in Russia, it is necessary to understand the interlocking relationship that exists between the Communist Party and the government. The party nominates the members of the government and election is unopposed. The party sets the basic policies and programs which the government legislates and implements. All key posts of the government are held by carefully screened men who have demonstrated party loyalty. These selections are made from the top down.

Through this interlocking directorate, party officials are also the governmental officials. For instance, Stalin was secretary of the party, head of the Politburo and also premier. Khrushchev holds these same offices, except now the Politburo has become the Presidium of the party.

So the party leadership has absolute monopolistic control of the government. And the party, operating on the concepts of Lenin and Stalin, knows no limitations on its actions. It is supreme. Its purpose is not to understand the feelings of the people, but to manipulate them. Everything that promotes the conquest, maintenance, and expansion of its own power is permissible.

Economic Control

Karl Marx held that since history was determined by the economic forces at work in society, Communism must control the economic forces in the same monopolistic way it controls the political life. So the tools and methods of production as well as those who produce them are naturally a prime Communist target.

This is true for at least three other reasons. (1) Marx also believed that the laboring classes would bring about the revolution.

³ *The Crimes of Khrushchev, Part 2*, U. S. Govt. Printing Office, p. 2-4,

Lenin was convinced this was true, but he did not feel they would arrive at "revolutionary" ideas voluntarily and so they would have to be motivated. (2) Another reason is that Communist theorists have maintained that control by the state of the economy is a necessity to equalize distribution and provide "to each according to his need." (3) Thirdly, economic control is necessary to secure political control.

When the Bolsheviks took over Russia, they knew the country would have to come to a place of world leadership if Communism was to be the vanguard of world revolution. Extreme measures needed to be taken in terms of the economy since agricultural production had to be increased and industrialization had to come fast.

Lenin applied stringent measures immediately. It was much too soon and there followed a period of more lenient measures to effect a transition from the feudal economy to the state-controlled economy. This New Economic Policy (NEP) was in effect from 1921 to 1928 and concessions were made to the tired and exhausted masses. But when Stalin came to full power, the Bolsheviks organized and consolidated their complete economic control of the Soviet Union according to a definite totalitarian pattern.

The Five Year plans for the organization of production and the acceleration of industrialization were put into operation. The economy had already been nationalized. What little private initiative was allowed was within the nationalized sector. After 1929, Stalin carried out the collectivization of agriculture from above, using every form of compulsion. For millions of people, this policy resulted in death through hunger, or in deportation to labor camps.

N. Jasny writes of this period of terror: "At gun point, with sacrifices of millions of lives and by sending other millions in concentration camps, almost 100 million peasants and their families were herded into the kholkhos."⁴

These kholkhos were communes controlled by party officials where the peasants had to fulfill production quotas imposed from above. Stalin was determined to destroy the independence of the peasants who had threatened the process of industrialization by their refusal to supply cities with foodstuffs. They were forced to adopt agricultural machinery in order to form a market for the products of the industrial plants.

So terror was now combined with economic planning. The GPU (Government Planning Union) had to change its concentration camps

⁴ *Soviet Studies*, Vol. III, No. 2 (Oxford, October 1951), p. 161.

from political prisons to enterprises for economic and colonizing purposes. Forced labor had been used as an experiment in digging the Volga-White Sea canal; now deportees, political and criminal prisoners could be used on a much larger scale in the almost unpopulated regions of Northern Europe as well as of Asiatic Russia. The official propaganda, of course, presented the camps and the regions of exile as places where antisocial persons could be rehabilitated and transformed into valuable members of the social community.

There is some difference of opinion about the extent of the slave labor camps in the Russian economy today. Harrison Salisbury wrote in the September 10, 1959, issue of the *New York Times* that the labor camps have been liquidated, but a member of the Ukrainian underground movement said in testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee that same year that he has current information that they still exist.

Mr. Mykola Lebed said: "When Khrushchev found out that the Western world knew of some concentration camps and their geographical location, he released the inhabitants of those camps that were known by the Western World, as, for example, in Vorkuta and Norylsk. He changed the status of those prisoners from political prisoners to those who were forcibly resettled and restricted to the respective areas, not to be known directly as political prisoners. At the same time he transferred some of the political prisoners to such places which until that time were not known to the West as concentration camps or forced labor camps."⁵

John Noble, a prisoner of Russians for nine years, estimates on the basis of information he has that there are 28 million yet in forced labor camps.

Economic Gains

That there have been great economic gains is indisputable. That these gains have been made at the expense of personal liberty and life is also indisputable. In the past 25 years Russia has risen to be ranked economically with the larger western nations, but the standard of living in Russia is far below that of most western countries. The reason is that the government develops and expands the heavy industry segment of the economy rather than consumer goods. This emphasis is one of the great weapons of the cold war which is being fought in the area of world trade. They sacrifice consumer goods in order to compete with the West in the world market.

Currently Russia is in the middle of a new "Seven Year Plan"

⁵ *The Crimes of Khrushchev, Part 2*, U. S. Govt. Printing Office, p. 5.

scheduled to climax in 1965. It calls for an 80 per cent increase in gross industrial production, a 70 per cent increase in agricultural production, and a 65 per cent increase in the output of consumer goods. Like the five year plans which have preceded it, this one is not expected to totally succeed, but there is no denying that progress is being made.

Some progress is inevitable in such a controlled economy, but the elimination of rights and liberties is also inevitable. The Christian cannot agree to sacrifice these God-given freedoms for progress.

Cultural Control

Communism is not content until it has regimented the total life of every citizen. This is not only true of his working hours, but also of his leisure hours. According to the Marxian pattern of thought, every part of life must be brought into the focus of revolutionary activity. This has led to the control of education in the interests of the state, censorship of the news media, restrictions of religious activity, and censorship of the arts and literature which are forced to serve the interests of the Communist state. We are considering all of these repressions under "Cultural Control."

After the revolution, it was necessary that neutral institutions — not political or economic — and cultural-artistic activities be tolerated while the state increased its power. But this was only the lull before the storm. From the thirties on, the party began to impose its totalitarian claims on cultural activities.

Education was an area of paramount importance. It must not only be used to reduce illiteracy, but it must also indoctrinate with Communist ideology. Throughout the entire educational process, students are under the influence of an educational system that is under party control. This domination is further strengthened through the party youth program. All youth organizations are tools of the Communist Party and are primarily used to inculcate party ideology. Under this all-pervading influence, many become loyal party members and supporters of the regime.

It is easy to see why the Communists take little interest in older people. Youth has become the chief point of concentration for party efforts.

The news media become mere propaganda pieces under a Communist regime. All news has the bias and slant of official interpretation. This makes it easier to control the minds of the people, for it is very difficult for the Russian citizen to have an accurate picture of what is going on.

Control of artistic and literary expression is virtually absolute. Through the reorganization of their groups, writers were required to submit to the politics and economics of the regime. A critical review of a poem, "Love the Ukraine," appeared in the July 2, 1951, issue of *Pravda*, official party newspaper in Russia. It raised the question of *which* Ukraine was the poet singing about and said it did not contain the image of "our socialist motherland."

On July 10 a letter appeared in the paper from the poet. He said:

"The criticism of me in *Pravda* is a bitter but merited lesson, a lesson which will give me strength to so sharpen the weapon of my poetry, in which matter our Party will help me, that never again in any way will I make such inadmissible errors in my creative work, that it will always and everywhere serve only our socialist people . . .

"Dear Comrades! I am very grateful to you for your correct, Bolshevik criticism, aimed at the ruthless uprooting of survivals of the past in the minds of people, aimed at rectifying and not destroying, at bettering and not worsening . . ."

Cultural expression must now serve the ends of the revolution. All forms of artistic expression must be in keeping with "proletarian democracy." There is no art for art's sake — it must in every case have a Communist lesson.

Even the doctrines of the natural sciences were prescribed in the name of the party line. It was asserted by Russian biologists that acquired characteristics can be inherited. While this was held as nonsense elsewhere in the world, it became something of a criterion for acceptance in Soviet scientific circles. Since Stalin's death this and other extreme positions that were untenable have been set aside and greater credence is placed on accurate study. But this example does point up the policy which permits the party to control not only the state but all public and intellectual life.

This policy is likewise expressed by the party attitude toward religion. Since Communism maintains that the economic forces at work in society will carry history along, Communists feel they eliminated the necessity of God. Organized religion thus becomes a relic of the old order and is, as Marx said, "the opiate of the people."

The party knew, however, that the Russian Church could not be destroyed by decree. Frontal attacks against what was regarded as "anti-scientific superstition" proved unsuccessful, so the party devised a means to use the church for their own ends. The official Soviet policy was reversed so as to deal with the churches as institutions controlled by the state. Leaders were appointed who could be counted on to maintain allegiance to the revolutionary regime.

In this way the Russian Orthodox Church became a dead organization, losing what vitality and spiritual life it might have had.

Particularly effective in limiting the power of organized religion in Russia was the youth movement. The League of Militant Atheists openly challenged the churches and at times resorted to violence to threaten and intimidate those who could not be laughed out of their faith. But more significant has been the capture of Russian youth by the Communist Party. A young person under 18 is not allowed to join a church and there is no form of religious instruction which they can receive except of a clandestine nature, which reports indicate continues in spite of the severe persecution. On Sunday he must attend the activity of his respective Communist youth organization where he is indoctrinated with Marxian ideology and the current party line. This has virtually destroyed the source of new membership and growth. As a result, the Russian churches are gradually being choked to death.

The Communists do not approve of religion, but find it expedient to let it survive in this emasculated form.

Russian Reaction

The average American, reading of power politics under the Communist regime in Russia, is filled with anger and disgust, and is thankful that things are different here.

How does the Russian react to it?

Undoubtedly many have the same reactions which we have. Through the controlled Russian press there occasionally come items that tell of unrest and trouble. The continued camps for political prisoners is evidence that the regime is not accepted unanimously. The revolt in Hungary, the uprisings in Poland — both Communist satellites for many years — give graphic testimony that the love for freedom doesn't die. It only waits for a chance to express itself.

Who can say how many there are behind the Iron Curtain who pray and hope for freedom? No one — but reason tells us it must be so. Some actually despise the Communist system.

The second reaction to be found among the Russian people is resignation and acceptance. Where individual initiative has been practically eliminated and the will to resist has been crushed, there are undoubtedly millions who go "like the quarry slave at night, scourged to his dungeon."

The Russian people have never known the freedom of a democracy, and when the czar was overthrown in the revolution, it was simply the swapping of one slavery for another.

But after one full generation of total indoctrination with Communist ideology, there are those in Russia who find within this framework the highest expression of their lives. In their minds they have eliminated God, and the state has convinced them that they live for the highest cause—to export the revolution to the “oppressed” peoples of the world. “Living for a cause” always has a zest and thrill about it.

Dr. Bob Pierce of World Vision quotes the young Russian woman who was his interpreter as saying: “Since childhood I have been trained to serve my country. Next year I am going to Siberia where we are to build three cities of 100,000 population each, not with political prisoners but with the finest young men and women our schools can produce. We are going to pioneer because we want to give our lives to our country.”⁶

Significance for Us

The Soviet state presents a twofold problem to western culture. (1) It is unalterably opposed to the democratic political traditions of the West and the undergirding philosophy of individualism. (2) It is openly atheistic and thus denies the basic religious orientation of western thought and life. This brings the Soviet state into focus as something apart from the mainstream of the western tradition. It has developed a strong tradition of its own which is antithetical to the West. This is the source of its vitality and dynamic—it is new and can claim a non-western orientation.

The spread of Communism constitutes a threat to our way of life. And the West must counter the Communist threat with a positive counterattack, not an intransigent defense. This is a challenge to the Western traditions and their dynamic.

What can we do? There are several alternative positions. We could actively seek the overthrow of the Soviet government by revolution. There is also the possibility of war—preventive or otherwise—which, if won, would limit the expansion of Communism. Or we can put our heads in the sand and refuse to face up to the problems of the world and our responsibilities as Christians. Finally, we can take an active, positive approach by offering the world a program that is vital and has meaning with respect to people everywhere. It must be not only words, but deeds; not only ideology, but action; not only material, but spiritual. It must minister to the whole man.

The Christian has the best alternative to Communism. The Gospel

⁶ *United Evangelical Action*, March 1960.

is for the whole man. So the fourth alternative has the most to offer and is compatible with biblical teaching. Christianity provides a guiding ideological framework, a message for the soul, and a motivation for action and service.

Study Suggestions

More and more material is becoming available about life in Russia. Much of this is first-hand information. Be careful, however, of the person who traveled a few weeks in Russia and then writes a book as an authority. Know the author's background so you can identify those areas about which he may speak authoritatively. Study the source materials and judge for yourself regarding the nature of the Soviet system.

Study Questions

1. Explain the relationship between the Communist Party and the Russian government.
2. What do you think is the possibility of a "thaw" in the Soviet totalitarian system?
3. Describe the way in which cultural control is maintained.
4. What are the reactions of the Russians to their system?

CHAPTER VII

Techniques, Part 3 — Power Politics in International Relations

Introduction

In chapter six, the nature of Communist control of the Russian domestic scene was discussed. This study of the operation of power politics in the international sphere is of great importance because it is in this area that the Communist threat is most evident today.

The term "power politics" has been used in the past to refer to the basis for international relations among the several states. It has its origins in the relations between the city states of Italy during the Renaissance. The most well-known advocate and interpreter of this technique was Machiavelli.

Simply stated, the idea involved in power politics is that the end justifies the means; a ruler or state does whatever is politically expedient. Whatever promotes power within a state for the ruler or advances the power of one state over another is good. With but few exceptions, this has been the standard of practice in political relationships since the sixteenth century.

In the development of this subject, the following points will be covered: (1) The goals of Communism in general and Russia in particular, (2) the means by which these goals are to be achieved, (3) the weaknesses of these methods, and (4) the significance for the U. S. citizen and the Christian.

Soviet Goals

The present day goals of Russia stem from two main sources — Communist ideology and the traditions of Russian foreign policy that date back to the time of the czars. The two have merged as one and cannot be separated in contemporary practice. Basically these two areas have the same ultimate goal — world domination for Russia either by outright conquest and annexation or by establishing Russian hegemony throughout the world.

Nikolai Gogol, writing in 1842, said:

Whither are you speeding, Russia of mine? Whither? Answer me!
But no answer comes — only the weird sound of your collarbells.

Rent into a thousand shreds, the air roars past you, as you are overtaking the whole world, and shall one day force all nations, all empires to stand aside, to give way to you!¹

The first decade of the twentieth century saw others expressing this same belief that Russia was to conquer the world. The poetry of the symbolists spoke in these terms. The messianic mission of Russia was also voiced in the theology of Sergei Bulgakov. These men supported the revolution of 1917, not because of its social and economic implications, but because it gave new hope for Russia to lead the world.

Because Marx thought in terms of an "international proletariat," his thinking does not apply directly to the goals of Soviet foreign policy. It was his idea that there would be a number of simultaneous worker revolutions which, when completed, would eliminate the basic source of international tensions. The impact of Marxian philosophy upon Russian and Communist international goals was to become explicit in the thought and actions of Lenin and Stalin, their contemporaries and successors.

Wrote Marx:

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of the world, unite!²

Lenin's contribution to the merging policy was in organizing the tools of revolution and applying them in Russia. He thought that proletarian revolutions would soon follow in other parts of Europe. It was Trotsky who first said that the revolution in Russia could not endure unless the revolutions were forthcoming elsewhere. This implied that the revolutionaries in Russia would be obligated to organize world revolution. Lenin perhaps had sensed this earlier when he disciplined the Comintern under Russian Bolshevik leadership.

Trotsky, however, made it explicit. He argued for an international program of revolutionary action. This comes to the fore in his debates with Stalin over the idea of socialism in one country. Since Russia has been the only country to accomplish a proletarian revolution, he implied, it is to take the lead in promoting whatever other

¹ Gogol, *Dead Souls* as quoted in Hans Kohn, *Basic History of Modern Russia*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1957, p. 130.

² Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, 1848.

national revolutions are necessary to bring the ultimate world revolution.

Although Stalin maintained the doctrine of socialism in one country, it was with the understanding that eventually revolutions throughout the world would come. Thus the fomenting of revolution became one of the keystones in foreign policy. It was not always an open policy since it was antithetical to Russian efforts to effect alliances and agreements of peace in the two decades between World Wars I and II. But the developing foreign policy — even in treaties — was always on the basis of Russia's immediate good. And since the goal of revolution and world communism was never abandoned, this put the lie to the open overtures of alliances of peace and mutual assistance.

There has been no significant change of policy in recent years. Only the methods change. The key to understanding Russian foreign policy is to understand that the end — world communism — justifies the means.

The Means

There are four principal ways in which the Communists maintain and extend their power. They are all predicated upon a position of strength and the application of force as needed. These are:

1. Diplomacy — negotiation by plenipotentiaries between states.
2. Military — the use of the Red Army as a sign of power, to threaten, or in actual combat.
3. Economic — efforts to control key areas of world trade to make political domination of any country possible.
4. Assistance — aid to underdeveloped nations which allows for propaganda and the buildup of effective infiltration.

These means are interrelated and interdependent. It is exceptional to see one used without the others. All means are used to achieve the desired goals although at times one may predominate. The methods change — first the rocket-rattling, then the proffered olive branch, then the offer to negotiate. When you read of a new Russian proposal or that a plane-load of Russian technical experts have arrived in an underdeveloped country, just remember that this is all a part of the end of world communism.

Diplomacy

To the American mind, diplomacy seems a strange method of Communist imperialism. We think of negotiation through diplomatic channels as a means of working out an agreement and achieving

peace. This is not the Communist understanding, however. Lenin referred to an agreement derived from negotiations as "an agreement concerning war." The first rule to remember when negotiating with Communists is that they have no intention of coming to a binding agreement. One look at the littered pile of broken Russian promises over the past forty years should convince even the most skeptical that this is true.

The only agreement which is satisfactory to the Communist is that which converts the non-Communist. Communists feel that it is a show of weakness and a great sin to accede to a "capitalist." Thus honest negotiation is impossible. Neither side can approach the conference table with the hope of agreement for peace.

Then, we ask, why negotiate with the Communists at all?

The Communist negotiates for several reasons. He may be stalling for time. Or he may use the negotiation as a propaganda device. He may hope to lull the opposition into complacency, or he may hope to gain some concessions without actually making any himself. Negotiation is a means to an end. The Communist hopes to force his enemy to agree to peace at any price.

The above statements are all borne out simply by tracing the history of Soviet international relations and seeing how they have used conferences to achieve Communist goals. Their record of broken treaties is long and frequently referred to as an example of Communist perfidy.

Why do we negotiate with the Russians when we know all this? Several answers have been suggested by the Overstreets in their book, *What We Must Know About Communism*.

First of all, it does put off the possibility of a shooting war. Either side can use it as a stalling technique. Secondly, there may be areas where bargains can be made that will be a net gain for the world. The big issues will not be settled, but with patience and tact some areas may be found for some type of agreement. Thirdly, the conference table provides a sounding board to state our case before the entire world and, fourthly, it provides time not only to build up western defenses but to allow the flaws in the Communist state to develop.

In negotiating — or bargaining — with the Communists, however, the free world has to be able to lead from strength. Here, once more, we find a clue in Leninist ideology. To press the enemy to the limit at every point where he shows weakness is basic dogma.

To make a strategic retreat in the face of strength is equally basic — as is the avoidance of ‘adventurism’: the taking of chances where success has not been virtually guaranteed by preparatory measures.³

There is extensive evidence that shows specifically the treaty violations of the Soviet Union over the years. This supports the view that we must not look for final settlements in our negotiations, as well as showing how the Communists have used duplicity in “softening up” the world powers before moving into a given area.

Non-aggression pacts were signed with Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. In 1940 Russia moved in and annexed these territories outright. Only token resistance was possible against the Red army and the Communists who had infiltrated into important government posts. Yugoslavia was a similar picture. The violation of truce agreements in Korea further illustrates Communist double-dealing.

Military Strength

The Red Army has been an invaluable tool to the Russian Communists. It was used by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in 1917, it put down the counter-revolutionaries in 1918-21, and it effectively dealt with the problems of domestic control in the following years. Gradually it was strengthened as Stalin realized the potential of this instrument of force. Because he kept the people fearful of a “capitalist” invasion to undo the revolution, he built the army up under the guise of a defensive instrument.

The Red Army was tested by Hitler’s forces in World War II — and showed itself well. It seems that as a result the decision was made to give it an important part in the expansion of Communism in Eastern Europe after the war.

The show of strength by armed might made the takeover of Eastern Europe in 1947 relatively easy. Since then the army has been used to crush opposition, as in East Germany and Hungary. Hungary might have joined the free nations of the world after the revolt of 1956 except for the intervention of Soviet troops.

The Red Army came to East Germany as an occupation force and remained to “defend” it against the West. It is no coincidence that the army has been ready to crush revolts and demonstrations which have occurred on a number of occasions, viz., the use of tanks on unarmed civilians in 1953. Perhaps more than anywhere else in Eastern Europe, East Germany has felt the heel of Soviet military might.

³ H. and B. Overstreet, *What We Must Know About Communism*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1958.

This is a technique also used by Communist China. The presence of Chinese soldiers in Korea and the rape of Tibet are evidence of the readiness of the Chinese Red Army to export Communism by force.

Russia and China also both use more subtle ways of providing military aid. Weapons, technological assistance and leadership have been provided to many states where such tools could be put into the hands of local Communists or those who would do the work for the Communists. Cuba, Congo and Laos are recent examples.

Economic Levers

While economic war in international relations is not new, it has come into a place of prominence recently. It is based on the philosophy — proven to be true — that if you can win the economic war, a shooting war will be less necessary. Russia is fighting on this front with great effectiveness. And few people in the West other than those engaged in international economics are aware of it.

Communism has set its deepest roots in underdeveloped countries. That description fitted Russia when the Communists took over in 1917. They went to work building up those areas of the economy which were strategic in every country — natural resources, arms and munitions, metallurgy, machinery — so they could compete on the world trade market. This expansion in world trade had a two-fold effect on many nations: (1) It suggested that the Communists were the friends of the underdeveloped nations by giving economic assistance and (2) it placed the recipient under obligation to Russia.

Russia is still busy collecting some of these debts in United Nations votes. Such trade and economic assistance, it is said, has no strings attached but even a casual observer can tell differently. Trade treaties follow — treaties that are advantageous to the small struggling nation because expensive goods and materials are quickly and cheaply available. The regimented economy in the Communist state makes this possible.

There is little meaning in such a situation for the traditional concepts of profit and loss. The Russians have an inordinate desire to surpass the United States, not just for ego's sake but so they can control world trade. If the significant portion of world trade were to be gained by Russia and the Communist bloc, the United States would be in bad circumstances. Many sources of supply would be dried up and most world markets for our exports would be gone. In a time of growing economic interdependence, this could

prove fatal. It is this kind of funeral which Khrushchev says he has in mind when he threatens, "We will bury you."

This is not, needless to say, the peaceful competition of which Russia speaks so glibly. It is economic war.

Harry Schwartz, writer on Russian affairs for the *New York Times*, summarizes the most recent developments in the issue of January 10, 1961, which contains an overview of world economic activity for 1960. He points out that the trade of the Soviet bloc was up 25 percent over the preceding year. The fact that imports exceeded exports indicated that there was a great deal of attention being given to expansion of heavy industry. Yet in spite of this they made a significant cut into the world market. They were able to do this by underselling free world competition. This was noticed especially in oil. During 1960 Cuba became an economic dependent of Russia and China.

The number and amount of loans to underdeveloped areas from Moscow and Peking indicate the importance which they place on economic influence, Mr. Schwartz says. He cites the world trade figures for Latin America where exports and imports with countries of the Communist bloc were up 50 percent over the preceding year.

He also cites an example of economic control which Russia exercises over the satellite countries. While two-thirds of all Russian trade is with the free world, three-fourths of all East German trade is with countries of the Soviet bloc. A similar pattern would be true for many other satellite states.

Russian economic imperialism becomes increasingly important to the West when viewed alongside the nationalism and rising hopes of the underdeveloped peoples of the world. That significant inroads are being made is undeniable. Dr. Hastings Banda, nationalist leader of Nyasaland, is quoted as saying, "I would rather have dollars and pounds, but if the dollars and pounds are not forthcoming, I am going to take rubles."⁴ So the simple laws of economics get the Communist line an audience with the neutrals and underdeveloped peoples throughout the world.

Propaganda

Propaganda and infiltration are two terms which we can apply to include other methods the Communists use in power politics on an international scale. Literature and Communist agents are poured into many countries to prepare the way for future domination.

⁴ *Newsweek*, January 23, 1961, p. 27.

The literature is of different types and derives from any number of sources. It tears down the existing government and scoffs at efforts of the Western powers to remedy any evils which might be present in the state. Russia, China and other longtime Communist states serve as illustrations for the advantages of Communism. The basic propaganda lines portray the rapid industrialization of these countries, the goal of the classless society, the colonialism of the West and the non-western orientation of Russia.

Communist agents are used to infiltrate various areas of the government and the economy. These are not always "spies" in the usual sense. Sometimes they are technological agents who are fully trained to serve in this capacity. This is a form of economic assistance which puts the recipients under obligation to the country which provided the aid. Needless to say, these agents also provide "eyes" and "ears" for Russia to keep abreast of crucial developments.

Another subtle method of infiltration used by Russia is to bring young nationals from all over the world to study in Russian universities under scholarships. Most of the underdeveloped nations have limited educational resources and so this opportunity is welcomed. Of course, these young people are indoctrinated and many of them return home to work at moving their country into the Communist camp.

So effective is this program that a new university is being developed in Russia solely for training non-Russians. Tuition and fees will be taken care of by the Soviet government. The Western powers are also helping provide higher education for some promising young leaders in underdeveloped countries, but the program is small.

These techniques described here — and others not mentioned — were devised solely to implement the long-range goal of Communism — world domination. The Communist thrust is not entirely underground. These are open, bold bids in the world arena and must be countered by the West in the same bold fashion. While we ferret out the insidious underground movement, we must also stop Communism in these areas where it is achieving its greatest success.

The Pattern

The Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in February 1948 is a good case to illustrate some of these methods. It is told by the Communists themselves in three articles published in *Contributions to the History of the Communist Party*, a little-known Czech party journal, and made public by Radio Free Europe. These articles,

appearing at intervals since 1957, become more significant since Khrushchev has stressed many times in recent speeches that "a peaceful transition" from capitalism to Communism is possible in some cases without revolution.

These articles, however, make it clear that the Communists are holding up Czechoslovakia as an example for Western nations to follow. One of them calls on the workers of these non-Communist nations to take the lead in creating "a united and mighty anti-imperialist popular movement." This is Communist talk for replacing elected governments with Communist-directed mob rule.

The author, Jan Kozak, said the Czech Reds used "pressure from above and pressure from below" to seize power. If this had failed, another article showed, armed force was in readiness. Pressure from above means full use of the key government posts already held by the Communists when the takeover campaign begins. In Czechoslovakia, Communists held nine cabinet posts in the last coalition government. A Communist was information minister, with power to license the press, control newsprint, and rig strikes of printers. The interior ministry, which controlled the police, was in the hands of Communists and the police force was largely staffed by men certain to support them.

Pressure from below, Kozak wrote, means formation of front groups "led and influenced to a large extent by the Communists . . . virtually the direct reserves of the party." They were ordered out in street fights and demonstrations during the cabinet crisis — twelve non-Communist ministers resigned over Communist infiltration in the police — that preceded the seizure of power.

The second article tells how the Communists formed their own tough, private army to back up their political tactics. Although these "worker-soldiers" were armed, this last act of pressure was not needed. The head of state accepted the resignations and Communist power was assured.

The final article deals with the consolidation of power, and follows the familiar pattern of Communist victories elsewhere. "The power-political consequences which had to be drawn against the forces of reaction, as the result of February, had to be unequivocal," it said. "The national life with all its institutions had to be purged."

Problems

Although the Communist nations have used the methods listed in this chapter with a large degree of success, there are also some debits in the ledger.

Cracks have shown in the wall of Communist solidarity. The implementation of Communist world imperialism puts heavy pressure on the domestic fabric. In order to be a power in world trade, the domestic economy must be sacrificed. The people are asked to do without consumer goods in the name of exporting glorious Communism to the "oppressed" peoples of the world. Just how long they will be willing to make these sacrifices no one knows.

Because of world tensions which Russian foreign policy creates, the domestic scene is also troubled by the prospect of eventual war with the capitalist nations of the world. Some of the Russian intelligentsia raise questions about the ideology which produces the policy that creates tension and conflict. This undoubtedly troubles the leadership.

Another problem facing the leaders in the Kremlin is the prospect of failure. They are now committed to the hilt, and if the empire which they have built should begin to crumble, it is absolutely necessary to have the power and means to prevent — or deal with — a popular revolt before it reaches major proportions. Consequently, full power must be in the hands of the few.

Significance

The foreign policy of Russia and China has great significance to the United States and the free world. In these two powers, by their own testimony, we have implacable foes. Their foreign policy becomes imperialistic in an effort to isolate the United States, the bastion of the free world. This imperialism is both political and economic.

This does not mean that the only solution is for each side to be an armed camp, gradually increasing military might until somebody pushes the missile button and puts an end to civilization. It is true that the United States must maintain sufficient military strength to deter Russian aggression, but since the Communists choose to fight the war on the political and economic fronts also, why not beat them at their own game?

Our foreign aid program admittedly has been inefficient and, to a large extent, ineffective. It has been administered improperly in many places. Instead of filtering down to the level of need in many poverty-stricken countries, it has stayed at the administrative level where it has purchased luxuries that only show up more sharply the utter poverty of the masses. If we are to have foreign aid let's be sure that will help the needy instead of turning them against us.

The United States must also continue to negotiate, understanding the nature of those with whom we attempt to bargain. Since the Communists use this as a tool of expansion, we cannot ignore it. We must meet it. Diplomacy must be carried on intelligently and from a position of strength. Soviet diplomacy, as was stated earlier, is not in the traditions of the past. It has its own meaning, and those who negotiate with the Russians must not be deluded with the false hopes of accomplishment.

We must deal with Communism abroad since they themselves have chosen this battlefield, but we must also keep our domestic situation such that no seedbed can be prepared to foster Communism here.

Communist power politics in international relations has a special significance for the Christian. Since Christianity is opposed ideologically to Communism and finds the denial of individual rights not in keeping with its ethic, we cannot ignore the extension of Communist totalitarianism.

Our government is also opposed to the extension of Communism, both on ideological grounds and at the point of power conflict. What should the attitude of the Christian be toward the government and its efforts to halt the tide of Communism? In a democracy it is important that the people support the government. We can reasonably assume that the leaders in government are going to do what they think best with respect to the welfare of the state and its citizens.

But what should the Christian do if he disagrees with government policy? Basically, the question revolves around the nature of political morality. Is a government bound at all times to do that which is ethically right? Is there a role for lie, deceit and intrigue in war and in peace? Can a Christian nation practice such things?

Some Christians adopt the position that governments are really amoral and so their political actions are released from traditional concepts of morality. On this basis, they justify spying and the deceit that is a part of it. Of course, this is a question that each Christian will have to settle for himself.

The Christian must also have a concern for the welfare of people in unfortunate circumstances, both abroad and at home. He can agitate through the proper channels for action and do what he can in his immediate environment.

Communism is a well-established power in the world today. Because it has designs on the world — including us — we cannot ignore

it. Whatever initial success it has had is due largely to its claim to provide the answer for all of man's economic and material needs. That this is a false claim is not important at this point. The fact remains that millions believe it is true.

It is in the light of this that Christians must act — or we lose by default.

CHAPTER VIII

The Contemporary Crisis

The sickness of the modern world is the sickness of moral confusion, intellectual anarchy, and spiritual despair. The revolution of nihilism, born of this confusion and despair, is peculiar not alone to any one country or people but in varying degrees is taking place everywhere. With almost frantic zeal we search for the political or economic panacea that will save us and the world from disaster, not seeing, apparently, that the disaster is already upon us and that for the cure we must examine our own souls.

The political and economic crises from which the world suffers are not causes but symptoms of a crisis that is even more profound — a spiritual crisis within the soul of man. Having alienated himself from God, having discredited the reason with which he was endowed by God, unable or unwilling to identify the evil with which the world of man is infected — modern man oscillates between extravagant optimism and hopeless despair.

As his optimism is shattered more and more by the force of events he sinks lower and lower into the slough of despondency. In his despondency he is tempted to strike out against the enemy he cannot identify, whose name he does not know, in desperate action. In his anxiety to escape from utter futility and meaningless existence, he is tempted to give up his most priceless heritage — his freedom — to any man who even promises deliverance from insecurity. He is tempted to put his faith in the most absurd doctrine, to submit his will to the most brutal dictator, if only in such a way he can find that for which he longs with all the passion of his being — a meaningful existence, a life worth living, a life worth dying to preserve.¹

So states J. H. Hallowell, who has displayed keen insight into the problem of the contemporary crisis in Western civilization from his position as an Episcopal layman and professor of political science at Duke University.

To this point our study has been concerned with the ideological and historical development of Communism and the methods used in the expansion of Communist control. On occasion the significance

¹ J. H. Hallowell, *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950, pp. 618-19.

of this has been pointed out and steps in the direction of a counter-attack have been suggested. These last three chapters will point up more specifically the problem and the Christian solution.

Sufficient evidence has been presented to indicate the true nature of Communism. The basic underlying philosophy of contemporary Communism is Marxism. Marxism is materialistic and historically deterministic. This makes it basically incompatible with Christianity (cf. Chapter I). The goal of Communism has been and is world domination by any means possible — violent revolution, military conquest, economic control, or infiltration and subversion. To achieve this, the Communists have taken advantage of unsettled conditions wherever they might be found. Stepping in to agitate, they then offer a panacea for the ills which they have created or worsened by their agitation.

In doing this the Communists have been markedly successful. From a small group of professional revolutionaries in Russia with some support from other small Marxist parties in Europe — a total of several thousand — they have added to their numbers and brought more than one-third of the world's population under their control. They are still expanding and moving onward. There is little evidence to suggest that this tide will be stopped from within, and outside forces thus far have shown little effectiveness in halting their drive.

The Fact of Crisis

It is this threat that makes these days critical. Apparently there is nothing that is able to effectively halt this monstrosity of Communism. It is apparent from the study thus far that it is a threat to our way of life as Christians and as citizens of a democracy. Since the spread of Communism has come so close to our shores in recent months and it appears that the threat to our own land is mounting, many are increasingly alarmed and wonder what the next step should be.

The threat by Communism to our way of life is found in two aspects of its thought and practice — *materialism* and *totalitarianism*. The former makes Communism anti-Christian with certain implications for political organization, while the latter, although having certain implications for Christianity, relates primarily to political and social relationships of rulers and ruled.

A thorough-going materialism posits the eternity of matter and the non-reality of spirit or non-matter. Thus for the materialist there is

no God, no soul or mind. These have no existence because they are non-material. Only matter has reality.

The implications of this basic premise are far-reaching. If there is no God or other absolute beyond the existence of matter, then there is no source of eternal, abiding, absolute truth upon which an objective system of law and order can be based. All becomes relative to time and place. The expedient becomes the good and true. Matter itself is not able to provide this absolute because of its ever-changing character.

Since there is no soul and since all goodness and truth are relative to time and place, it follows that there can be no abiding value attributed to man as an individual. He has no worth within himself. This makes man a tool of his environment. Furthermore it brings him under the subjection of the group. At a given moment the good of the group becomes all-embracing. The individual thus may be sacrificed for the good of the group.

It is at this point that one readily observes the relationship between materialism and totalitarianism. Totalitarianism is based upon the assumption that the individual is of little or no importance and his will can be made subservient to that of another individual, a group, or the state. Totalitarianism thus results in the complete control of all facets of life in the interest of the state or that person or group which claims to speak for the state. Totalitarianism is what the Communist Party maintains when it is in power. It is called "the dictatorship of the proletariat" which, as was pointed out in chapter six, means the rule of the party and its leadership.

Such a totalitarianism is not consistent with our thinking about the best organization of a state. Constitutional democracy, since it provides for guarantees of rights and liberties, provides opportunity for individual expression better than other forms of government. It is the denial of the individual and his intrinsic worth that makes a totalitarian regime unacceptable to the person of democratic principles and to the Christian.

The crisis that Communism presents is that of a strong materialistic and totalitarian attack upon our way of life, neither of which is in accord with the basic tenets of a working democracy and a vital Christianity. A working democracy is in need of a strong undergirding philosophy which possesses a moral and spiritual content. Christianity offers this. The past strength of the form of government which we have is due in large measure to the spiritual and moral fiber that has been built into western civilization and the American way of life. This does not make democracy the only form of gov-

ernment compatible with Christianity, but Christianity strengthens democracy since it provides a sound moral basis.

It has been only the unconscious retention of a basic Christian frame of reference as a part of western civilization that has kept the American form of government as strong as it has been. This may not always continue unless we see that the undergirding philosophy is strengthened in its Christian orientation.

Dr. Carl F. H. Henry, editor of *Christianity Today*, said in 1960 in an address to the National Religious Broadcasters, "There is an inseparable connection between Christianity and a state built on justice dedicated to freedom. In a good state citizens live by the rule of truth, justice, love and benevolence. Where untruth, injustice, hatred and grief prevail, the wicked exploit the weak, might becomes right, and social order gives way to anarchy. The neglect of these social virtues leads to the loss of freedom. But these virtues are the very virtues which revealed religion sanctions and for which it supplies a regenerative dynamic."

Materialism is not only a problem for the democratic way of life; it also strikes at the vitals of Christianity. Ultimately, as has already been pointed out, it is atheistic and opposes the concept of the worth and integrity of the individual.

Communism is materialistic. Therefore, it is counter to democracy and Christianity.

Communism is also totalitarian, and a totalitarian state is the antithesis of democracy. Constitutional democracy is rule under law and it preserves and respects the rights and liberties of individuals and minority groups. Totalitarianism brings all aspects of life under the control either of the state, the ruling group or an individual who dictates according to his desires. There is no regard for individual or minority rights and liberties as understood in the democratic political tradition. The good of the state or the whim of the dictator becomes the sole basis of political, social and economic action.

In the case of Communism, this is the good of the proletariat as interpreted by the party and its leadership. By advocating the total abolition of bourgeois interests and the bourgeoisie itself, the movement denies the very basis of constitutionalism.

Totalitarianism is also opposed to certain basic Christian principles, chiefly the concept of the individual. Inherent in Christianity is an individualism that grows out of the doctrine of the priesthood of believers. Although Christianity has existed and does exist under various forms of government, it finds itself opposing on theological

and moral grounds that form of government which denies the individual his liberty of conscience.

The problem develops as the government or political system attempts to usurp the role of religion in the lives of the individual by dictating morals and other concerns of the conscience. Thus no form of government is anti-God or anti-Christian unless it becomes something of a religion itself. Communism has done this — and so another basis for opposition is provided.

So the crisis of our times, political and spiritual, is found in the attack upon democracy and Christianity in the forms of totalitarianism and materialism which at the moment apparently find their most vital and dynamic expression in Communism.

The Communist envisions his cause — world revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, a classless society, and finally Communism — as being for the benefit of the masses. This gives it a basic humanitarian appeal. Why not try Communism? You have nothing to lose but your chains, Marx tells the masses. Communism not only offers a panacea for the social, political and economic ills, but it claims that its goals are inevitable according to the laws of history. And this “bandwagon” propaganda wins its converts.

Billy Graham quotes an American university student who went to Mexico and wrote the following letter to his fiancée, breaking their engagement:

We Communists have a high casualty rate. We are the ones who get shot and hung and lynched and tarred and feathered and jailed and slandered and fired from our jobs and in every other way made as uncomfortable as possible. A certain percentage of us get killed or imprisoned. We live in virtual poverty. We turn back to the party every penny we make above what is absolutely necessary to keep alive.

We Communists don't have the time or money for many movies, or concerts, or T-bone steaks, or decent homes or new cars. We've been described as fanatics. We are fanatics. Our lives are dominated by one great overshadowing factor — the struggle for world Communism. We Communists have a philosophy of life which no amount of money could buy.

We have a cause to fight for — a definite purpose in life. We subordinate our petty personal selves into a great movement of humanity, and if our personal lives seem hard, or our egos appear to suffer through subordination to the party, then we are adequately compensated by the thought that each of us in his small way is contributing to something new and true and better for mankind.

There is one thing in which I am in dead earnest and that is the

Communist cause. It is my life, my business, my religion, my hobby, my sweetheart, my wife and mistress, my bread and my meat. I work at it in the daytime and dream of it at night. Its hold on me grows, not lessens as time goes on. Therefore I cannot carry on a friendship, a love affair, or even a conversation without relating it to this force which both drives and guides my life. I evaluate people, books, ideas, and actions according to how they affect the Communist cause and by their attitude toward it. I've already been in jail because of my ideas and if necessary I am ready to go before a firing squad.

Would that Christians were so dedicated and believed with equal or even greater fervor in the cause of Christ and the ultimate triumph of His Church. It sometimes appears that Christians are willing to accept the inevitability of Communism. We must believe in the inevitable triumph of Christianity.

Such is the crisis as it can be seen. There is a deeper significance, however, which we must grasp if we are to approach an adequate understanding of the Communist problem and formulate a Christian answer.

Nature of the Crisis

It might be good to observe, first of all, what the crisis is not.

(1) The crisis is not that of an impending military struggle. This conflict may come, but the crisis is deeper than this danger.

(2) The crisis is not simply the threat to constitutional democracy. We hold this form of government dear, but it is not indispensable for mankind's political or religious life. Past history bears this out. Men have lived good lives under other types of government, even some that were totalitarian. Paul managed to do pretty well with the Gospel under Rome, which was hardly a democracy.

What then is the crisis? At its roots, it is a cultural problem. Since the earliest days, man has displayed a culture. Culture, by simplest definition, is the traits of a given group of people at a given time. The history of Western culture indicates a basic continuity and relationship of those cultures within the framework of its broader context.

Our culture basically has combined two traditions — (1) the Hellenic, which is the rational, humanist tradition that received its basic orientation and frame of reference in the philosophies of ancient Greece and Rome, and (2) the Hebraic or Judaeo-Christian, which is revelational, theistic, and derives from the history of the Old Testament and the Christian Church.

A religious expression of some sort has always provided meaning, significance, or integration for a culture. Since the beginning of the

fifth century, Christianity has provided the basic religious expression for western culture. It has largely gone without significant challenge until the last two centuries. The rationalism and skepticism of the eighteenth century and the scientism and materialism — products of rationalism and skepticism — in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have effected a serious challenge to this basic Christian orientation.

As was shown in the first two chapters, Communism is a result of this and it is now attempting to provide the ideological and religious framework for contemporary culture. Since it is religion that attempts to give meaning, significance, and integration to a culture, Communism in attempting to fill these roles is taking the part of religious expression.

Religion gives meaning and direction to life by providing a higher standard and an ultimate goal for history toward which all individual action is to be focused. The Christian application of this is made possible through redemption which reorients the individual's thought and action in the light of the ultimate goals.

Communism makes a similar application. The classless society is the ultimate goal — the Communist heaven. This is perfection — the end result of the historical process. The individual, by allowing himself to become a part of the inexorable historical process and removing from his mind all thoughts and ideas foreign to the materialism of Marx and Communist philosophers and believing in those things which the Communist calls good, can be redeemed from the ills and eventual destruction of the bourgeois world.

For many people Communism has effectively provided integration for culture. Furthermore, in an age of science and rationalism it has an appeal that a supernatural, revelational faith does not have. Such ideas are regarded as superstitious, unscientific, and irrational. The Communists charge that Christianity has no appeal to those who desire a scientific and up-to-date answer. It is true that many in the Western world have a tendency to accept without investigation anything that professes to be scientific. To be "scientific" is to be intelligent.

In the non-western world, the appeal is different. The people are reminded that the Western world has for four-and-a-half centuries been the source of colonialism. The exploitation of the people and the natural resources, the disregard for human life and rights — these things tend to turn the underdeveloped nations against the West. Anything which is anti-western finds a ripe audience and Moscow exploits this prevailing sentiment to the fullest.

Since Christianity is associated with Western culture it has become to many of them as odious as the West itself. In this context, it is easy to understand why the non-western world fails to grasp the supra-cultural nature of Christianity. The African and Asian are unable to distinguish between pure Christianity and western culture. But there is little wonder at their problem when we ourselves have been so prone to equate the two.

Since their own religions have no vitality, Communism offers them that which religion seeks to fulfill. Even though Communism is derived from the scientific materialism of nineteenth century Western culture, it tries to pass itself off as non-western. Russia and China emphasize this non-western image of Communism with alarming success. They preach that Communism, as a new ideology and force, will produce better material results than traditional western ideology and they point to the first man in space as one of the evidences.

How effective is it? A look at swelling Russian prestige is enough answer.

Western Weaknesses

Much of the success of Communism can be attributed to the lack of Western nations and Christianity to make meaningful and practical the salient features of their culture. This is a key factor in the development of an adequate answer to Communism.

Does this mean then that Communism is only a threat to the non-western and non-Christian world? Do Christianity and democracy have sufficient strength in the United States to offset the appeal of a materialistic, totalitarian ideology? The answers to these questions are of vital importance to all thinking people today.

Communism is a threat to America today because threadbare places are appearing in the fabric of both democracy and Christianity. Both are losing their respective distinctions and conforming to contemporary ideological patterns which are not a part of nor conducive to either. It is readily apparent that, knowingly or unknowingly, scientific materialism is the undergirding philosophy of many Americans. Even Christians have had their spiritual vitality weakened by its inroads in their thought and action. This philosophy of materialism has been woven into the warp and woof of our thinking through the processes of education in the contemporary world.

Frequently it is covered by a plea for objectivity in the name of science. This certainly does not mean that the Christian cannot be objective or scientific in his approach to problems which can be handled at this level, but for many science has assumed the role

of deity. They claim for it the all-embracing answer to the fundamental questions of life.

The Christian attitude was expressed by one scientist in this way: "I keep my microscope on the lower shelf and the Word of God on the upper shelf. That way one is my servant and the other is my master."

But science which has been deified refuses to recognize the existence or validity of ultimate questions which are philosophical and theological in nature. At its roots this type of thinking is quite compatible with that of the Communist. Such a philosophy is not to be equated with Communism, but it does not offer the best defense against it. Scientific materialism does not provide the spiritual thrust that is necessary for a strong anti-Communist position.

The basic problem again is seen to reside in a fact that has already been pointed out — materialism is basically opposed to Christianity, and democracy requires a strong moral foundation which materialism does not supply. Christianity must retain its supernatural distinctives or it becomes a meaningless collection of moralistic platitudes that do not provide answers to the fundamental questions of life nor an adequate spiritual base for government.

So the crisis is a cultural crisis. What is an adequate basis for culture? Is it materialism — or a biblical, theistic Christianity? The conflict resides in the hearts and minds of men and the allegiance of those hearts and minds is the prize of the victor. It is easy to see then how Satan can make use of these forces of opposition to God for his own purposes.

It thus behooves democracy and Christianity to win the hearts and minds of men. We must show them, first of all, that Christianity provides meaning, significance, and integration to life and, secondly, that constitutional democracy — although full of problems — best serves the interests of humanity.

The Best Alternative

Thus far we have assumed that the Christian answer based on a biblical theism is the best alternative to Communism. Some proof must be given to support this, although the next chapter deals more specifically with the content of this answer.

What are some of the alternatives which suggest themselves as solutions to the crisis?

(1) Scientific materialism is perhaps the most prevalent philosophy today. Many people either directly or indirectly are attempting to make this philosophy do the job of providing meaning, significance,

and integration to life. Since the eighteenth century this type of thinking has prevailed among the intellectuals. Now it has become so much a part of our thought that it isn't recognized as an evil.

Communism grew out of this seedbed. We can thus conclude that a scientific materialism, even of a type that is not Marxist-oriented, is not an adequate answer to Communism. It is similar to Communism, but in the guise of a more subtle materialism it has been able to retain the general cloak of western culture and its Christian orientation.

(2) Democracy is another alternative. A democratic form of government with patriotism to inspire loyalty has much to be said for it. But we have also pointed out the need for a strong undergirding philosophy such as Christianity can provide.

(3) Religion in a broad sense is sometimes suggested as an alternative to Communism. This is interpreted to mean any religion. But a religion which is to be nothing more than this must be so broad that it is robbed of not only its distinctives, but its effectiveness. Liberal Christianity and certain ecumenical movements have so watered down the dynamic of Christianity that it is gradually losing its power.

(4) Existentialism has drawn a large following from among the intelligentsia. It attempts to revive the philosophical approach to man's problems, but it is relativistic and sets each man up as his own judge and final authority. It is also a philosophy of crisis where the doing is more important than anything else. Life becomes a series of crises until the time of the final crisis — death. Thus existentialism has been described as a philosophy of chaos and despair. Apart from Christianity, it lacks the concept of a supernatural regenerating faith which is vital to man's need.

Any alternative must come to grips with the ultimate and basic problems of mankind, including those of the spiritual realm. Other alternatives might be proposed as ways to deal with man's crises, but they must meet the criteria we have established. It is our claim that a biblical, theistic Christianity can provide a solution that best deals with the basic problems about which the discussion has revolved.

It is important to remember that the contemporary crisis is more than that which is posed by Communism. This is the dynamic manifestation of the problem that goes to man's heart.

The crisis can only be effectively met where it originates — in the heart. And only Jesus Christ can change the heart.

CHAPTER IX

The Christian Answer

Introduction

The crisis to which we seek a Christian answer is more than just Communism as a political or economic system. It reaches into the area of religion, faith, or creed. It is Communism in the role of religion that makes it a critical affront to Christianity and Western civilization. In this role Communism seeks to provide all the answers to life's problems and to provide a whole system of philosophy of life.

As Communism is moving to this point, it is waging a battle for the control of men's minds and hearts. It seeks to gain from them a commitment to their cause. At the same time Christianity seeks the same type of response from these individuals, and it is at this point that they come into conflict.

Because Communism is opposed to Christianity in this fashion and has an atheistic materialism as its basic philosophy it is safe to conclude that Communism is a tool of Satan. Therefore, our opposition to it is not because of its political or economic systems, but because of its role as a false religion.

Other alternatives to Communism have been suggested. Some have been tried, but all have been found wanting. Nothing seems adequate to meet and deal with the true nature of the crisis. A spiritual problem requires a spiritual answer.

Because Communism is today the most vital and dynamic threat in the world and presents us with a basically spiritual problem, Christianity must provide an alternative to Communism or some other workable solution to the crisis of Western civilization as Professor Hallowell has so ably stated (cf. Chapter VIII).

The Christian answer to Communism and the contemporary crisis has certain limitations which we must recognize. Basically, this is the matter of realizing that Christianity is a religion and that what it teaches and says relates first of all to the religious needs and prob-

lems of man. Thus Christianity must be viewed as a way of life that has certain social and political implications, although it is not in itself a political or social system.

On the other hand, it is a fact that Christianity does have such far-reaching implications that make it the only effective answer to the ills of our society and civilization. Our task is to proclaim its message widely and forcefully enough so that its vital and dynamic force may be brought to bear upon the crisis we are now facing.

As has been pointed out in the previous chapters in this book, there is much about Communist practice that is evil and satanic in nature. Since satanic subtlety frequently assumes the guise of religion only a dynamic and orthodox Christianity offers an effective antidote to such forces as Communism.

In order to make the Christian answer to the contemporary crisis and Communism effective, its validity must be demonstrated and it must capture the hearts and minds of its proponents. Therefore the answer must be thoroughly thought out and have sufficient force to convince the Christian himself before it is suggested to others.

This answer must reach into all areas of life because it is here that the Communist way of life has had its great success. It has attempted with very positive results to be all things to all men. Christianity must do the same, not because it must follow the lead of Communism, but because this has been its historic strength. In a large measure the inroads of materialism and Communism upon Western civilization have been made because of a neglect of the "whole gospel."

Content of Our Answer

Christianity gets to the heart of the crisis. It has a message for the hearts, minds, and souls of men. It is able to deal adequately with the crisis with each individual and thus ultimately with the problems of society and civilization. Perhaps the primary problem is that of the basic premise. Materialism is atheistic and holds the idea that reality is only in the realm of matter and the material which may be perceived and scientifically substantiated. Christianity maintains that while there is this world of perceivable reality, there is also reality in the realm of the non-material or spiritual which is beyond the here and now and is superior. This allows for such concepts as God, soul, and spirit which are vital in the Christian answer.

A materialism cannot deal with the non-material. This is just what Communism attempts to do when it, a materialism, becomes a

religion and thus deals with matters of the spirit. Christ was well aware of this plight of man when He said, "Man cannot live by bread alone." Still more emphatically He said that a Christian's treasures are to be heavenly, or spiritual (non-material) rather than a part of this earth. It is the spiritual orientation of man that is of ultimate significance. This fact also colors the present life and makes it meaningful and provides integration for all aspects of thought and action. Because Christianity is non-material, it deals with the realm of the spiritual and is thus able to speak to man's spiritual needs and all of life that is related to them.

To determine the specific nature of the Christian answer, we must review some of the specific doctrines of Christianity. As a source of authority for these matters the Christian turns to the Bible, the Word of God. Christianity does not claim that the Bible is a textbook for *every* subject, but in the spiritual realm and with respect to man's nature and his relationship with God, it speaks authoritatively and with finality.

It is with these very problems that one must start in developing a Christian answer to Communism. And, if it were to be summarized in a phrase, it would be "biblical theism." This means a theism or belief in God based upon the Bible and all the implications thereof.

Man

The biblical view of man begins with the fact that he was created by God in the image of God (Genesis 1:26). This includes a will which is free, since God did not create man as a mere automaton. There was the possibility that man would disobey the Creator and thus sin. Once having done this man could no longer be counted as perfect. Having fallen (Genesis 3:7), man was sinful by nature and inclined to be disobedient unto God. God was not the author of sin, although He permitted the sinful act to take place. Man had succumbed to the temptation of the devil.

The contemporary world thinks of man as basically good and rational. Upon this premise, it is easy to develop the possibility of man's working out his own solutions so that ultimately a man-made paradise will be established on this earth.

Men who hold a view like this usually end up in despair when faced with the obstinate fact of man's sin, and they resign themselves to the situation without much hope for what the future has in

store. Their philosophy becomes a modern adaptation of "eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die."

With graphic realism the Bible sets forth man's true condition in a few short phrases. It states in Romans 3:23 that "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," and also in the tenth verse of the same chapter, "There is none righteous, no, not one." Thus, there is no doubt that all men are guilty before God because of their sinful nature.

Sin

Sin is that which is opposed to God. Hence it is evil. Basically, it comes from man's fallen nature and his inability to do good unless aided by the Spirit of God. The unregenerate person is able to do partial good. But, in the long run it is useless since it is done unto self and will not be sufficient to offset the problems of man's essentially sinful nature. God who is perfect cannot look upon sin or accept the works of sinful hands.

Man in his fallen state is thus cast out from the presence of God and this remains as his greatest problem in all of life. Unfortunately, it is not always recognized as such. Since man was created in God's image for fellowship with God, his chief end according to the Westminster Catechism is "to glorify God and enjoy Him forever." The only solution to the problem is to restore a right relationship with God, and that means dealing with the sin problem.

Sin is primarily personal, but because man is a social being and has relations with others, it will also affect the actions and behavior of a group. Thus we have such things as evil in government. It is not that the politics or government are evil, but the men involved are sinful and under the control of a sinful nature and they do things which may seem right or good according to their standards, but which are evil. Sin-hardened men fail to see the significance of wicked actions when their individual responsibility may be clouded by the group. The fact remains that sin is the product of the individual and his choice. The evil in one's environment derives from man. Man is *not* corrupted by his environment.

Sin has alienated man from God. This is true even though man refuses to recognize the fact of sin or the existence of God. Sin is disobedience to God, and His terms for a restored relationship are necessary.

Redemption

This is the means that God has ordained for man by which he may be brought to a right relationship with Him. God, having created man, did not leave him in the situation in which he had become entangled. Rather, He made it possible for man to choose to come to Him, just as it was possible for man to choose to sin. This required a sacrifice, an offering acceptable unto God so that the repentant sinner might turn his back on sin and seek forgiveness from God, who is merciful as well as righteous.

For the Jews, God ordained specific sacrifices as symbols or types of the perfect sacrifice which a perfect God required. These sacrifices looked forward to the ultimate Sacrifice, the death of God's Son, the Lord Jesus Christ. Thus, Christ bore the sin of the world so that all who believe would be restored unto God. Man is thus seen in God's sight through Christ. It is not on his own merits that man is able to achieve this, but by the merit of Christ which atones for our sin. Incomprehensible? Yes, but biblical, and the supreme example of God's love for His lost creation.

"Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world" (John 1:29). "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John 3:16).

Sin merited death (Genesis 3:3, 19; Romans 6:23). However, when atonement was made in the death of Christ, life replaced death — not physical death, but spiritual death. Thus we have a new life for the present which is able to glorify God, because it accepts the sacrifices of Christ. There is also a life for the future, a spiritual life, everlasting, with God. The redemptive process thus set down, and there is no other (John 14:6), is the only means by which one may be restored to God. These are His magnanimous terms.

This does not mean that sin is impossible for the one who has accepted the merits and shed blood of Christ as his means of salvation. It does mean there is a forgiveness for sins that are committed.

One cannot achieve the merits of Christ by action, gift, or ritual. It is a matter of personal faith. This was the keystone of the Reformation and Protestant theology (Romans 1:17; 5:1). By believing God's Word to be true and accepting the work of Christ, one is able on these grounds, through the exercise of faith (Hebrews 11:1, 2), to come to God.

This redemption or salvation experience is the keystone of the Christian experience and hence is vital and meaningful in every area of daily life. It is this that offers purpose and direction to all human activity, corporate or individual. Herein is the basic answer for all of man's ills.

History

Christianity provides not only the adequate answer for the sin problem, but also meaning and direction for life. This is an underlying principle of the Christian philosophy of history and is needed to understand the goals of history and the end of time.

The Christian experience recognizes the supremacy of spiritual things. This means that eternal life or life with God is the ultimate reward of the Christian. However, there are results for the present in the here and now. One of these is that a Christian is better able to understand the purposes of God and the course of history. This makes life at the moment meaningful, for all is done in relationship to an ultimate purpose and goal.

Also, since this is the case, the things of the present world, the material possessions, take on a new meaning in the light of Jesus Christ. Things material, which in a materialistic society become ends in themselves, are now means to an end, as they enable one to better serve his Lord and Master. All things take on a new perspective and fall into their proper place as a fully Christian sense of values is established.

Primarily, one's vocation is a matter of service to God. But it also has practical implications for the Christian as a member of his community, his nation, and the world. This obligation and responsibility is clearly taught in two well-known Scriptural passages — Christ's summary of the commandments and the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37).

Although the Christian sees much that is evil in the present world, he looks for the inevitable triumph of right over wrong. The history of this earth will eventually come to an end with the return of the Lord Jesus Christ to claim those who have been restored to a right relationship with God. They will ever live with God. Those who have not are condemned to everlasting punishment, unable to experience a life with God. The former is the Christian's hope. This pervades all of his thinking. This has been true throughout the history of the Church. Even though the cause of Christ is inevitable and sure, just as the erroneous Marxian theory of inevitability has

prompted extensive action, so the inexorable cause of Christ has prompted Christian service.

When one thinks about the foregoing statement regarding the content of the Christian answer, some questions arise. What does it all mean? Is not this merely a private, individual concern? How can this be an answer? Isn't it impractical, idealistic, and utopian? These are important questions to ask. The suggestions already made are the basic starting point for the Christian answer to the crisis that is being developed.

Implications

For some, the Christian message means that they are to devote themselves entirely of worldly concerns. This is not the case. There is a vital concern which all should have for the world about them. Christianity does have a social and political ethic which must guide the individual in these areas of life.

Augustine, the church father of the early fifth century, in his work, *De Civitate Dei* (The City of God), develops the ideas of two cities, the city of earth and the city of God. These are two communities intermingled. They are distinguished by the common attraction that one member or citizen has for the other. Since these cities represent basic opposites, they are always at odds or war with each other.

This Christian classic was written in a day when political and social systems were in decay and a decadent Christianity was challenging the vital church. It points out the role of the Christian in such a society. Many of his ideas were derived from Paul. Although Augustine was not an inspired writer in the biblical sense, his keen mind helps us in understanding the relationship of the Christian to society and culture. In this way he helps us to get to the solution of the problems presented by the contemporary crisis and the problem of a truly Christian answer to Communism.

This dichotomy of interest upon the part of the Christian is a result of his twofold nature, spirit and body. Thus he is a citizen for the time of this world, but ultimately a citizen of heaven. The Church, or body of believers, becomes the agency of God in history as He brings about His ends. The state ultimately serves these ends, although it is not integrally bound to the church. This does indicate, however, that the Christian has a social and political responsibility as he seeks to do God's will and influence the life on the "city of the earth."

What does the Bible teach regarding the position of a Christian on these matters? Scripture is not always very clear, though much is implied. It is the purpose of this study to indicate some of these implications and something of what they mean for Christians.

In Marxist thought, political power is evil and is to be finally destroyed in the eventual Communist society. This is known as the "withering away of the state." On the other hand, the Christian views political power on the basis of New Testament teaching as neither good nor bad in itself. The problem lies in how it is used — whether for good or evil. To set such things right a revolution has often been used to change the situation with a change in government. But for a Christian this poses real problems since according to Romans 13 he is obligated to obey a temporal government because it has authority vested in it by God. As a result, a revolution does not abolish authority for the Christian but merely replaces one with another.

For the Christian the state is but one possible grouping of people in society. It is established as a means of organizing and administering man's political activities for his own good. Thus that state which is most conducive to the good life is the best. This means that any type of government — pure democracy, republic, monarchy, or aristocracy — may fulfill this purpose. However, as the Early Church Fathers, the Reformers, and others have pointed out, where the state attempts to enter the realm of conscience, it is trespassing on sacred property of the individual.

The state and its operation — politics in a broad sense — are neither good nor evil. They are what people make of them. The Christian can use political means to develop a better state. It follows that the Christian will strive to build a state more in keeping with basic Christian principles and thus create a government that is more conducive to the good life. It is only as individuals take part in political action and become aware of their proper relationship that politics have meaning. The state is made up of individuals.

It has been the thesis of this study that basically the problem is one of culture. Since it is a religion that gives meaning to culture, it is primarily in this area that the Christian comes into conflict with Communism. However, as has already been pointed out, a religion must find expression in the hearts and lives of individuals. For a Christian, the acceptance of the gospel and thus of Christ and His work as Redeemer bears implications for culture.

Various possible relationships are discussed in Richard Niebuhr's volume, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper, 1953). Some believe Christ to be antagonistic to culture, others that He transforms culture, and some that He transcends or goes beyond culture. Because the Christian is concerned with the realm of the spirit, it becomes obvious that Christ is beyond culture. On the other hand, Romans 12 suggests that since the individual is to live a transformed life in his associations with the world, there is at least for the individual something of a transformation and culture takes on a new meaning in or through Christ.

It is all a part of God's creation, to be sure. However, it is a part of a fallen creation and the product of fallen human nature. But in Christ all becomes new (II Corinthians 5:17). A unity of meaning is given to our physical being and to the life which we have in the person and work of Christ. All of life (culture) is seen in Christ and is worthy of man's attention. ("In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" Colossians 2:3.)

Because the Christian has the opportunity to participate in politics and because his new life in Christ gives new meaning to culture and all that is necessary for life, the Christian has an active role in society. This does not make all of society as such good, nor is it a compromise of the doctrine of separation as found in II Corinthians 6:17. Because the Christian is what he is, someone different, he is able to influence for good the world about him.

This is not designed to bring heaven on earth, as mere works will not regenerate the people round about. They too must experience personally the redemptive power of Christ's blood. But note the exhortations of Scripture:

"Ye are the salt of the earth."

"Ye are the light of the world."

"Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven" (Matthew 5:13, 14, 16).

"Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only."

"Faith without works is dead" (James 1:22; 2:26).

The Christian is to express in action his own personal experience. This is perhaps the greatest and most important exhortation for all Christians. Christ commanded it when He said: "Love God and then thy neighbor as thyself." Yet we must recognize that most people, including some Christians, are largely motivated by self-interest.

When the great extent of self love is realized, then it is easy to see how difficult it is to love one's neighbor as one's self. The Christian must carry the message of the Gospel to all. This is not just the message of salvation or the spiritual message, but the message to the whole man, the whole Gospel of Christ.

It is at this point that the Gospel message has become weak. The neighbor has not only been forgotten, but he has often received only half of Christ's messages. The area of social ethics has often been ignored. We must ask ourselves: "What does the Gospel mean with regard to our relations with our neighbors — both Christian and non-Christian?" For how can one determine who is a "neighbor" if Christian social responsibility relates only to those who are believers? Is man to judge?

Does the Christian believe in human rights — in the dignity and worth of man as man? Whatever his belief, his actions will betray him. These things a Christian must believe and they must be made clear in his message, life, and action. A proper social concern and consciousness must be brought back to evangelical Christianity, not to keep up with liberalism, the social gospel, Communism, or anything else, but because it is an integral part of the teaching of Jesus Christ.

The Christian answer thus is distinctive and superior to other solutions on several counts. It has a message for the whole man which opens the door for ministry to both man's physical and spiritual needs. Christianity is also pertinent to the contemporary problems, whatever they may be and wherever they may be found. This is due to the supra-cultural character of Christianity. It is all things to all men. It is not a mere "pie in the sky" message.

Also, Christianity ties together the elements of "being" and "becoming." That is, it provides means or intelligibility to existence. That is, the Christian is, and he is yet to be something; but they are related. It is toward this that the Christian directs his present life.

Christianity is not all strictly logical or rational. Nor for that matter is there any other religious system that is entirely logical and rational. Faith must enter in. Christianity offers the most adequate solution to man's ills. It requires a step of faith to accept its claims.

The Christian answer to Communism tends to be idealistic. Can it be made practical? That is the real test. That will be discussed in the final chapter. One may also detect a large degree of fatalism in a Christian philosophy of history. All is left up to God to work

out according to His will. However, in becoming a Christian a choice was made to place one's will at God's disposal and thus commit the whole life to Him. When this is done, the Christian has entered into the service of God. Therefore one must be active. A passive fatalism is not Scriptural.

Biblical prophecy indicates that the Church will be punished for its apostasy and that there will be challenges. Does this indicate that the Christian must resign himself to the inevitability of Communism as a tool of God and thus not take action against it? As stated earlier, the Christian is in the army of God and must oppose the devil and that which is being used by him. God will determine the outcome, though for the time being He may permit the triumph of evil forces. This is not for man to judge.

The Meaning

First of all the Christian answer means salvation — one's own and then that of others. This is the spiritual side of the gospel message and the most basic. It alone can change and transform lives. To change society, the individuals that are a part of it must be changed. Since evil is the problem, a spiritual answer alone can solve it. For this the gospel message of salvation is sufficient. In conjunction with the presentation of the message of salvation there is the message of social improvement. This is an outgrowth of the changed heart that radiates true love for all mankind and makes the Christian message more appealing.

In the past men whose lives have been changed by the Gospel were able to make a deep impact upon those around about them. This was evident in the success of the Early Church which displayed concern for the whole man and preached the whole Gospel. Later, in the Middle Ages, the success of Francis of Assisi and his impact was largely a result of his concern for the well being of others.

The Wesleyan revival in England led to a humanitarian concern on the part of Christian leadership that led directly to the abolition of the slave trade and factory and prison reform. Such has been the case at other times in history and can be true today. Since Christianity has not been as sensitive as it should be to these problems of late, it has lost much of its appeal and vitality.

Communism has taken up where the social gospel left off. The Christian must take positive social action that counts, if his message is to receive an audience of the size and scope necessary for Chris-

tianity to do what it is capable of doing against any of its enemies, including Communism.

Christianity does have the answer to the moral crisis of the day as well as to the threat of Communism which is a representative symbol of the more basic problem — sin and evil. The Christian answer is superior to other alternatives. The Christian lives and must live where he is. Furthermore his life is in the present world. These matters cannot be sloughed off for sometime in the future or for someone else. Salvation has immediate implications for the social order. Evangelical Christianity must show the world that it is all that it claims to be — Christ's.

CHAPTER X

What You Can Do

Since the Bible teaches the inevitable triumph of the Church, Communism can never be finally victorious. But as other evils of generations past and gone, it does pose a threat to everything we hold dear.

This threat — a challenge to the basic foundations of Western culture and the church as well — which captures the minds of many in both its obvious and subtle forms, is one which can only be successfully fought by a vital expression of Christianity. Communism and the materialistic forces of our time have moved with sufficient vigor to make these days critical, not just for us in the United States, but for the whole world.

The Christian answer which is primarily aimed at the spiritual needs of man also has significant implications for man's social and political relationships. The basis for these was discussed at length in the previous chapter. However, the validity of the Christian answer lies in the fact that it deals with the root of the problem — man's nature, sin and evil.

Although the spiritual needs are the most important, the other areas of the Christian message cannot be ignored. This means that they cannot merely be talked about, they must also be acted upon. So frequently the Christian answer to Communism and the world's ills is misunderstood. It is believed that the salvation of men's souls is enough. This is not so, as worthwhile as this may be and as Scriptural as it may sound. A life lived in accordance with what the Bible teaches is also necessary. This includes a proper concern for others and a display of Christian social responsibility. The apostle James reminds us pointedly that faith without works is dead (James 2:20).

Where to Start

Each Christian must start with himself by repenting of his sins, not only personal sins, but those of the group and the nation. This is significant because as Christians we cannot divorce ourselves from

our social situations. A look at the Old Testament reveals that men like Nehemiah began their prayers with the confession of national sins. Only towards the end of their prayers did they bring before God their personal needs. How many of us pray in this fashion?

Such things as the sins of racial pride, national superiority and pride of material possessions require recognition and confession before God. As individuals we are often guilty of lack of faith, an undisciplined life and a love for God that is only partial. These things we also must confess before God.

When the sins of Christians are confessed, then a revival breaks out. This does not begin with someone else, but within each of us as individuals. This is the starting point. God has promised in II Chronicles 7:14 that "If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land."

In this is contained the key for the vital Christian life. Being human, our lives will not always be perfect nor lived on the highest plane, but the potential is always there. With God's help this potential can be realized since He has made it possible. So it is always, that as sin is confessed and forsaken God's blessing follows. This principle applies to the group as well as to the individual.

When so established in a right relationship to God, the Christian will have a vital, dynamic life that will have an impact upon those about him. This is so because he seeks to work out the will of God in his life. He recognizes more clearly than the half-hearted Christian or the non-Christian the implications of the Gospel for those round about him. He is the one who can become rightly excited about the social ethic of the Gospel.

Men of this type who were so strongly influenced by the Wesleyan revival played an important part in the social revolution of England. Granville Sharpe and Wilberforce led in the fight for the abolition of slavery. Lord Shaftesbury, an English nobleman with deep Christian convictions, did much to eliminate the evil of child labor and to improve the conditions of the working classes.

Today, it is apparent even to the casual observer that many who have a strong spiritual life often give the least consideration to the implications of the Gospel. They do not indicate an awareness of basic Christian social responsibility. Perhaps this is due to the fact that they do not *seek* an awareness or realize the necessity of it. Practical Chris-

tian living will strengthen the Christian life as Christ's love is channeled through it by the Holy Spirit.

Worship, prayer, and Bible study are methods that have been provided by which the Christian grows and develops the vital Christian life. Through this means, a seeking heart will find the fuller, deeper implications of the gospel message that gives rise to a Christian social ethic.

Steps for Action

There are some who are aware of this need and who have a vital Christian experience. Where are they to turn? What are they to do? The first step is education. This must not be a superficial or peripheral study, but a deep, penetrating analysis of the problem, the direction of its movement and its possible solutions. That is why this book has been published. It has sought to provide some rudiments of education about the problem of Communism. Each person must become acquainted with the problem and then seek to teach others about it.

However, as we seek to teach others, it must be not only to point out the problem and the threats that exist, but to show the need — national and individual — for spiritual regeneration and revival. Education is thus a key factor in throwing light on the problem, but it is not a final solution. Action must be taken by individuals so that our answer to the problem of Communism may be seen both adequate and practical. Not all of us are good teachers and preachers, but God can use anybody. And in His wisdom He has given us different talents so that we may all have something by which we might glorify Him.

We also must not forget the importance of the daily life. Often it counts more than what we say to the people with whom we come in contact. The distinctive characteristic of the Christian approach to the problem of Communism is that it can be based on a more solid foundation than a mere negative anti-Communism, anti-materialism or humanitarianism. The foundation of our answer is love motivated by the work of the Holy Spirit within us individually.

Anti-Communist activity can be divided into two basic types, participation and infiltration. By the former is meant the active participation in all legitimate forms of social organization to prevent a Communist victory by default. Christians should assert their influence and take leadership in groups and organizations which are a part of their daily life. Because of lack of interest in this type of thing, unions have become corrupt, school boards have become infiltrated

with subversive elements, and graft has been found in parts of government.

At the outset, the job of facing Communism seems to be of staggering proportions. A vital part of the battle is being fought in the areas of foreign affairs and internal security. Since most of us cannot become directly involved in these matters and still fewer of us are equipped with the necessary training, they must be left largely to those who are trained and are able to devote full time to them.

The responsibility of the individual in these matters is largely related to his responsibility of citizenship. This is the key factor in the operation of democratic forms of government. Each person is thus responsible to perform his duties as a citizen. If there are those who are educated and able to perform the duties that are a part of the jobs in these areas, then by all means those persons are obligated to give their talents where they can be used most effectively.

Citizenship requires still more. Christian citizens are even further bound in that they are not motivated by mere self-interest, but by the fact that good citizenship is also service to God. This is brought out on several occasions in the teachings of the New Testament (see Rom. 13:1-6; I Peter 2:13, 14). Other responsibilities of this type are intelligent, informed voting, participation in local government where one is able and when requested (jury duty, committees, elected offices, school boards and others), educating ourselves and others in the operations of democratic government and thus becoming aware of its strengths and weaknesses.

A representative government is only as good or strong as its people. When people lose interest in these activities which strengthen democracy, then the democratic system loses its vitality and significance and is easily replaced by some other system. A difficulty of democratic systems is that they require the support of the people. Yet, people under such government are apt to be hypercritical of it and do more complaining than constructive action.

In so doing they cause more harm than good. A democratic system requires a constructive criticism. It is paradoxical that some of the most vocal advocates of a democracy are its most destructive critics.

The Christian is exhorted to support his government (Romans 13; Matthew 22:21). The Christian citizen in a democracy, as we have seen, should have an active concern and involvement in the processes of government.

If the Christian is able to take an active part in government, he then is able to do what is in his power to increase the amount of good that results from legislation and other types of governmental activity. A thrilling account of Christian accomplishment in the social sphere is contained in the book, *Saints and Society*, by Earle E. Cairns (Moody Press, 1960) which tells of the effects of the Wesleyan and evangelical revivals.

To be a Christian in government service will not necessarily make one another Wilberforce with the ability to free all the slaves. However, regardless of the level of service in government, Christianity makes it more meaningful and adds a perspective of eternity to it.

It is significant that the National Association of Evangelicals is promoting this very thing with their annual seminar on government service, seeking to interest evangelical students in various forms of federal service. This service is not limited to such notable roles as Congressional representation, foreign service or judgeships, but applies equally to such positions as secretaries, clerks, and other operational positions. This seminar has already borne fruit as young people have gone into government service.

Although one has little opportunity to influence legislation in these areas, yet the witness of a Christian life is effective in that particular sphere and offers a moderating influence upon the whole society. This is a very important phase of the Christian answer to Communism, as we shall see later.

It is not only in government, where Christian influence can be helpful, but also in other occupations of life. In any area of life a dynamic Christian life is of great importance because of the old saying that "actions speak louder than words." In practical application, it means displaying Christian virtues to our associates, sharing the problems of our fellow workers, the needs of their families, and having a respect for their contributions.

Labor unions have been a strong target of Communist activity. The laboring man has been pictured as the exploited person in an industrial society. This has been true in some instances, but not all. The Communists falsely offer workers the possibility of having a greater voice in their affairs and of being a part of a program that is geared to the interest of the laboring classes of the proletariat.

Where does the Christian fit into the labor picture and the labor problem? Certainly there is nothing anti-Christian about laboring classes or their employment. The unfortunate thing is that evangelical

Christianity has in many instances neglected the laboring classes. As a result, many of them have been left without a Christian witness.

There is the further problem of the labor union. Many Christians feel that labor unions are evil because of the excesses of certain ruthless labor leaders in our time. Yet we must recognize that unions have served as a useful, corrective influence to the early abuses of big business. Indeed, the labor movement started with evangelicals in England more than 200 years ago. At that time many of the labor leaders came out of the Methodist revival. Now we must ask ourselves, "Where is the Christian influence and leadership among the working people?"

Is there anything that a Christian might do to limit the appeal of Communism in the laboring unions? First of all, Christians who are members of union locals can make an impact if they want to. What is there to prohibit a Christian from running for shop steward and offering a program to labor that will meet its needs and work toward answering its problems?

The problem that must be overcome is not just to oppose a Communist inspired or authorized program, but to offer an effective alternative that is motivated by Scriptural principles. The Christian should get the jump on the opposition and force them to join with him, rather than having to take the leftovers of someone else's leadership. By taking leadership in local action, he develops the potential for even greater influence in places of high leadership. Here even more effective and far-reaching action against Communism and other evil elements can be developed.

Christian union members should view union membership not only as a prerequisite for employment, but also as an opportunity to serve their Lord. The empty chairs at union meetings must be filled by those who seek to make the union effective and representative of the true interest of the laborer. The Christian can offer a meaningful and significant program that is good not only for labor, but for all people. It is only on this basis that one can say "what is good for labor is good for all."

The field of education is also a significant area in which the Christian is able to take effective and meaningful action. Here again, if the Christian does not take effective action, someone else will.

Teaching and educational administration are areas of great importance. Here is a prime opportunity to guide the minds of young people and adults as they seek answers to the important questions of

life. Here as elsewhere is an opportunity to demonstrate in practice the implications of the Gospel as they work out in the Christian life.

Of great significance for future leadership is the opportunity to point out the significance of Christianity as a way of life to future leaders who are now formulating their philosophy of life. There has been a tendency to steer clear of such intellectual involvement because it was believed that it clouded and confused the issues. This should not be.

We must not neglect our responsibility in the education of young people who are subject to many subtle influences. Some of these are merely non-Christian, while others such as materialism and scientism are basically secular interpretations of life. The problem is to place these things in their proper Christian perspective. The need for Christian teachers properly trained who clearly understand these issues is great in both Christian schools and the public schools. If our young children are properly oriented and the full implications of Christianity and alternative philosophies are clearly presented in all areas of subject matter, then education can serve well as an effective answer to Communism and the present crisis.

Christian teachers and parents working through PTA's can help keep the atmosphere of a school from becoming secular.

Another effective area in which Christians can serve strategically is in the field of communications — journalism, radio, and television. All of these channels provide an effective means for reaching the masses with our message and they can be open to us if we use the right approach. One way to assure that we will always open doors in the field of communications is to influence young people with Christian convictions and evangelical orientation to pick these fields for a career. In offering a job to a minister whose training had been in journalism, a newspaper editor said, "You preach to a few hundred people on Sunday. In my newspaper you can preach to thousands every day." He didn't mean by this that the man could sermonize in every edition of the paper, but the editor rightly assumed that the minister's Christian philosophy would permeate all of his writing.

Christians can find places of service and influence in the numerous clubs and civic organizations which reach across the entire social spectrum in every community. In unspectacular but effective ways their testimony can have a telling influence.

The reason we mention these various types of service is to show that any Christian — if he will — can make his Christianity practical, regardless of his vocation. This was a basic concept in the Reformation. Luther, Calvin, and the Puritans all felt this strongly. We must return to the biblical standard that an effective Christian life must manifest the fruit of the Holy Spirit (Galatians 5:22-23). Thus each of us can have a part in presenting the Christian answer to Communism.

In addition to the work and witness of our daily lives, we can extend the Christian influence by getting Christian people into government — a legitimate type of infiltration. This is precisely the method the Communists continually employ to achieve their subversive ends. All it takes is a vision of what's to be done and then to organize to obtain the objective. In this way, the Christian can make government, unions, education and other organizations serve his highest purpose. This is not to be done with the intent to destroy or subvert the existing government or organization, but to make them what they should be. The principle is universal in its application.

So far the activity which has been suggested has been that which the individual can do. But the task will seem large and difficult for many. We must explore what the church and government can do.

Institutional Activity

The church committed to the teachings of the Bible is vitally involved in things of social concern. As an institution, it must not only represent a position that indicates Christian social ethic, but it must also do something in this field. It must take a stand against evil as it is expressed in society. This means it cannot condemn evil practices in national government and then overlook them at home. Things such as prejudice, poverty, injustice, greed and graft must be the concern of the church at all times and in all places — not simply because the Communist movement feeds on these things, but because they are the concern of Christ.

The church's activity should not be limited to the denomination, but it should include the local congregation as well. Each level of organization should develop a program of activity that reaches out to the physical and material needs of the people. Some things require the broad support and organization that a denomination or federation can provide, while other things can best be cared for at the local level. In any event a combined organizational effort pro-

vides a more potent source of Christian influence in most instances than can be generated by the individual Christian.

Just as the Christian message lived and acted upon by the individual is a means to counter Communism, so it is when applied by the institution of the church at any level of organization or administration. The job is to do that which meets the needs of the people as well as to take a stand against evil and to offer a valid remedy that is within the framework of traditional Christianity. Thus we have a social outreach that has its root in our spiritual message.

Because the role of the church is so meaningful, the minister is in a position of crucial importance. As the spiritual leader of the congregation, he is obligated to indicate to the people the true nature of the Christian life and the impact that it must make upon society in order to be an effective antidote to Communism.

Not only should the minister lead in his congregation, but also in his community and church organizations, associations and denominations. If he is properly trained and oriented to the threat which faces us he can spearhead a counter offensive against Communism in its role as a false religion.

Other forms of institutional action can also be effective. Among these are the service clubs, veterans' groups and other organizations which can help increase the possible effectiveness of an anti-Communist program.

While group action can be highly effective it has certain dangers that must be watched. It is possible for a person to lose himself in a group with the result that he also loses interest and initiative to do anything effective. This means that there is a problem of maintaining a proper balance between the individual and the institution so that both have a valid role to carry out.

Much of what has been said so far is primarily related to the United States. However, the basic principles would apply to similar situations in other countries around the world. In its propaganda, Communism claims to meet a man's needs regardless of what they are. It attempts to be all things to all men. The purpose of the Christian is to meet men's basic spiritual needs and give lost men the Bread of Life instead of a stone (John 6:35).

This ideological battle for the hearts and minds of men is perhaps most acute on the mission fields of the world. There as atheistic Communism moves in, the missionaries are forced to move out. In view of such things we must ask ourselves what the missionary should be doing? And, how can the church as a whole increase the effective-

ness of its program? Missionaries in general have shown greater consideration for the physical, material, and social needs of their people than have some elements of the church in the United States. Yet, this has not always been effective in creating strong Christians.

In view of this, the disassociation of Christianity from any particular form of government or culture must be made clear. Its supra-cultural and supra-national character must be pointed out and demonstrated. Then the adequacy of Christianity must be proclaimed.

This proclamation must go forth in a world which wants all the benefits of a Christian civilization without its basic Christian message. Hence, we are challenged to demonstrate that our Christianity is compatible with modern technology and industry and adequate to provide meaning for a culture so oriented. Communism claims to do this, but its price is the loss of freedom. Christianity must prove it can deliver while strengthening liberty and individual rights.

While effective propaganda can be used on the mission field to aid in pointing out the true nature of Communism and to assert the value of Christianity, the church has not done this as it might. And though important, it cannot replace the effectiveness of the life lived and love practically demonstrated by a consecrated missionary or national Christian. This is the real antidote to Communism as it faces up to the political, social, and economic realities of life.

The job overseas is not only the work of the regular missionary. Laymen — business and professional men in their regular vocations — can have a real influence for Christ by choosing to serve overseas. In this manner they supplement and reinforce the work done by missionaries. More than likely they will also have doors opened to them which are closed to the missionary. More information on this is contained in the little booklet, *Vocational Missions*, which is published by Wheaton College.

Increasingly mission leaders call attention to the shortness of time in many areas where the Communist threat is great. Because of this, they ask for a re-examination of missionary priorities, to make certain that most effective action is being taken for these critical days. No longer is it enough to preach the gospel to primitive tribesmen in the hinterland while bypassing the people in the cities. Like Paul did in the early days of the church, so must we return to the principle of establishing churches in large centers so that the Gospel may radiate forth from them. This is exactly the technique which the Communists have been using with such great success — a strategy, by the way, stolen from the New Testament.

As we contrast the world of Paul's time and ours, we find much greater freedom today, but the rate of church growth is lagging in comparison with the population boom. The reason for this is not a lack of means or message, but rather a devastating lack of concern for those next to us.

Conclusion

Many suggestions have been offered in our study for countering Communism. This does not exhaust the possibilities. If the basic considerations are grasped, their practical application will be readily apparent in most instances. It might be helpful to offer a summary of the Christian answer as it has been developed here:

1. Know the true nature of the problem of Communism and its complexities.

2. Believe that the Christian answer is the ultimate one.

3. Cultivate for yourself a vital Christian life.

4. As a result, display a practical demonstration of the Christian virtues.

5. Remember that the conflict with Communism is ideological. It has its roots in the sin of Adam. Our victory is in Christ who has vanquished every foe, and so we are sure of final triumph.

It would seem then that Hugh Seton-Watson is correct when he suggests that a blow against evil anywhere in the world is ultimately a blow against Communism or any other totalitarian way of life that is based upon injustice and evil.¹ The answer to Communism is a dynamic, active Christianity.

Paul Harvey, the news commentator, pointed out in *Human Events*, May 5, 1960, that the most effective way to combat Communism is to influence those nearest you. It is not organizations as such that will win the battle; it is personal contact and influence that will be most effective.

¹Hugh Seton-Watson, *From Lenin to Khrushchev*, New York, Praeger, 1960, p. 356.

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